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Sing a new song:

English and Scottish metrical psalmody from
1549-1640

Volume 1

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ABSTRACT

The Book of Psalms has occupied a privileged place in Christianity from its earliest years, but it was not until the sixteenth century that metrical versifications of the Psalms became popular. Because of the notable influence of Martin Luther and John Calvin, the musical phenomenon of metrical psalm singing spread throughout Protestant circles on the European mainland and in Britain. These versifications knew no boundaries among Protestants: reformers and parishioners, kings and laypeople, men and women, young and old memorised and sang the metrical psalms. In England and Scotland, the versifications written by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins became the most popular, as editions of these texts were printed in England from 1549 to 1828. The present study considers these metrical versifications and their melodies as they were printed and performed in England and Scotland from their inception until the final Scottish edition appeared in 1640.

In particular, this study asserts that the years from 1560 to 1640 saw the development and reinforcement of two distinct ecclesiastical psalm cultures, one in England and the other in Scotland. Though based on a common foundation in the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, English and Scottish metrical psalmody preserved their distinct natures. However, both traditions also influenced their counterparts. The present study considers these cross-influences and their effect on the tensions between conformity with foreign influences and fidelity to established practice in both countries. This study finally seeks to fill two significant gaps in current scholarship. It first compares the developments in English and Scottish metrical psalmody in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Secondly, it considers the relationships between psalm tunes and their texts, with a closer musical analysis of the tunes than has previously been attempted.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that it embodies the results of my own work, and that it does not include work forming part of any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Among the people, Lord, I shal
giue praises vnto thee:
And eke amidst the nations all,
to thee my song shalbe*
—Psalm 108:3 (1564-5 *Forme of prayers*)

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APGA</i>	<i>The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland 1560 to 1618</i> , ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2004).
CM	Common metre (8.6.8.6)
D.	Appended to a metre (i.e. 8.6.6.D.), this means the preceding was repeated (i.e. 8.6.6. 8.6.6.).
DCM	Double common metre (8.6.8.6. 8.6.8.6.)
DLM	Double long metre (8.8.8.8. 8.8.8.8.)
DSM	Double short metre (6.6.8.6. 6.6.8.6.)
<i>GPSS</i>	Robin Leaver, <i>'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes' English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
<i>Frost</i>	Maurice Frost, <i>English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c. 1543-1677</i> (London: Oxford University Press, 1953).
<i>HTI</i>	Nicholas Temperley, <i>Hymn Tune Index</i> , (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998); also available online at Nicholas Temperley, <i>Hymn Tune Index</i> , http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/ .
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
LM	Long metre (8.8.8.8.)
<i>MEPC</i>	Nicholas Temperley, <i>Music of the English Parish Church</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com .
<i>OMO</i>	<i>Oxford Music Online</i> , Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .
<i>RR</i>	Beth Quitslund, <i>Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins, and the English metrical psalter, 1547-1603</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
SM	Short metre, or poulter's measure (6.6.8.6.)
<i>STC</i>	A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, and K.F. Pantzer, eds., <i>A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 2d ed., rev. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).

Manuscript Sigla

Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript sigla follow the *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (RILM), indicating the country plus the library sigla.

<i>GB-En</i>	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK
<i>GB-Eu</i>	University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh, UK
<i>GB-Gu</i>	Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, UK
<i>GB-Lbl</i>	The British Library, London, UK
<i>IRL-Dtc</i>	Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland
<i>US-SM</i>	Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA, USA
<i>US-Wgu</i>	Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C., USA

INTRODUCTION

The Christian church has used versions of the Psalms of David set to poetic metre for over 450 years, and the influence of these metrical texts has spread throughout the world. Martin Luther's reform efforts effectively encouraged metrical psalmody to develop throughout Western Europe and Britain. While his church did not sing metrical psalms exclusively, the use of songs that people could understand in public worship was important to him and his followers. Others including Martin Bucer and John Calvin agreed with this belief and used metrical psalm singing more exclusively in worship. This emphasis on the psalms, however, was not new to Christian churches since the psalms formed an important part of Jewish and early-Christian worship.¹ Many through the centuries leading up to the Reformation relied heavily on the psalms for personal and monastic devotion, and they were also central to the Roman Catholic liturgy.² While Luther's and Calvin's emphases on the psalms were not unique, their methods of employing these texts *were* innovative. By translating the texts into the vernacular and applying popular poetic forms such as German bar form (AAB) and varied French metres, Luther and Calvin made the psalms more accessible to people of all ages, backgrounds, and classes.

Metrical psalmody in England paralleled that of the Continent. As Beth Quitslund notes, English metrical paraphrases of the Psalms first appeared in the Anglo-Saxon versions of psalms from the Paris Psalter.³ Because the Church connected these and later paraphrases to heretical teachings, it outlawed all vernacular Bible translation. However, with King Henry VIII's policies, metrical psalms once again began

¹ Calvin Stapert, *A New Song for an Old World* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007).

² Nancy Van Deusen, ed., *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).

³ *RR*, 11-13.

to appear. Most notably, Miles Coverdale's *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* [STC 5892], printed around 1535, reinvigorated English metrical psalmody, aligning it with the advancing Reformation on the Continent. Based largely on Lutheran texts, *Goostly psalmes* was an anthology of German religious melodies, adopting simplicity in verse and tune to appeal to the masses. As Robin Leaver notes, most of Coverdale's tunes came from older German sources, with variations occurring as the English texts dictated.⁴ However, there were a number of tunes that appeared in print for the first time in Coverdale's edition, suggesting that they were either newly composed for Coverdale or were rising in popularity when he printed *Goostly psalmes*.⁵

As devotional literature, Coverdale hoped his *Goostly psalmes* would transform English society. He wrote:

...wolde God that oure mynstrels had none other thyng to playe upon, nether oure carters and plow men other thyng to whistle upon, saue Psalmes, hymnes, and soch godly songes as Dauid is occupied with all. And yf women syttyng at theyr rockes, or spynnyng at the wheles, had none other songes to passe theyr tyme withall, than soch as Moses sister, Elchanas wife, Debbora, and Mary the mother of Christ haue song before them, they shulde be better occupied, then with the hey nonynony, hey troly loly, and soch lyke fantasies.⁶

It is difficult to know just how successful Coverdale's volume was, despite the book's presence on Henry VIII's book-burning lists near the end of his reign. Since Coverdale's psalm versions and tunes had little effect on printed materials after Henry VIII's reign, some have argued that it had little influence on English society.⁷ However, Leaver asserts the contrary, arguing that its presence on those burning lists coupled with its user-friendly layout implies that people knew of it and used it.⁸ A quick survey of the title pages of the English psalters published until 1625 bolsters Leaver's argument. The

⁴ GPSS, 73-80.

⁵ Ibid., 65-6.

⁶ STC 5892, fol. *iiv; also quoted in GPSS, 81.

⁷ RR, 18; MEPC, 1:23. Leaver has shown that at least two later psalm tunes may have originated in Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes*. GPSS, 127-31.

⁸ GPSS, 80-1.

most common title for these books was *The Whole booke of Psalmes* and each reproduced the following text (with variant spellings):

...Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the nourishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth...⁹

Though not a word-for-word transcription of the beginning of Coverdale's preface, it closely parallels his ideas and purpose. Both sought to replace the crude songs that were popular at the time and to teach and encourage children. Later psalm editions may have included few of Coverdale's psalms, but the *Goostly psalmes* was influential in reinstating metrical psalmody in England and Scotland in the sixteenth century.

On the Scottish side, parts of *Ane compendious Buik of Godlie Psalms and Spirituall Sangis, collectit furthe of sundrie partes of the Scripture*—also known as the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, the Wedderburn Psalter, or the Dundee Psalter—were probably the first metrical psalm versions circulated in Scotland. Historians commonly credit this series of psalters to the three brothers James, John, and Robert Wedderburn, from Dundee, but Alasdair MacDonald is not convinced of their involvement in these editions.¹⁰ He notes that James probably spent most of his life as a Protestant exile in France, and Robert remained a committed Roman Catholic and became the vicar of Dundee.¹¹ John, on the other hand, fled to Germany after his conversion to Protestantism, eventually settling in Wittenberg. While the historian David Calderwood credits John with the translation work on the *Ballatis*, there is no

⁹ STC 2430.

¹⁰ It has long been assumed that the "manie of Luther's dytements" that John Wedderburn translated into Scottish metre were the *Ballatis*. See David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 1:143; Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 5; and J.K. McGinley, "Wedderburn, James (c. 1495-1553)," *ODNB*, 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28956.

¹¹ Alasdair A. MacDonald, "On First Looking into the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (1565)," in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2005), 232.

sixteenth-century evidence verifying Calderwood's statements.¹² The identity of the versifier, composer and compiler of the *Ballatis* thus remains a mystery.

Regardless of who versified and collected the *Ballatis*, they display a marked influence of Lutheran texts. Among several newly translated Lutheran texts, compilers of the *Ballatis* included several versifications from Coverdale's *Goostly psalmes*. Thus, while different psalm versifications existed in England and Scotland in the 1530s and 40s, vernacular metrical psalmody on both sides of the border was similar. People in both countries knew and used either Coverdale's metrical psalms or other texts that displayed the clear influence of Lutheranism.¹³

Coverdale's influence on English and Scottish metrical psalmody extended beyond his *Goostly psalmes*. In the late 1540s, Coverdale's *Great Bible* became one of the sources for the English psalm versifier, Thomas Sternhold, whose texts would change the face of English and Scottish metrical psalmody.¹⁴ Sternhold served the royal family as the groom of the king's robes for both Henry VIII and Edward VI, which may have exposed Sternhold to the psalm versification efforts ongoing in other countries. In particular, French¹⁵ and Dutch¹⁶ examples may have influenced Sternhold's decision to versify some metrical psalms for his own private use. However, he must have used

¹² Calderwood, *History*, 1:143; MacDonald, "Ballatis," 233-4.

¹³ MacDonald, "Ballatis," 236. Leaver speculates that an earlier edition is probable considering the amount of material that appeared before 1546. *GPSS*, 84-6. John Knox also records that George Wishart requested that Psalm 51 from the *Ballatis* be sung on the night that he was arrested in 1546. John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1846), 1:139-40.

¹⁴ In particular, Coverdale's *Psalter or booke of Psalmes* [STC 2368] and his translation of Campensis' *Paraphrasistica interpretatio* [STC 2372.6], as well as George Joye's translations of Martin Bucer's Latin Psalms [STC 2370] and Zwingli's *Enchiridion Psalmodum* [STC 2372] influenced Sternhold. See Elizabeth R. Jones, "From Chamber to Church: The Remarkable Emergence of Thomas Sternhold as Psalmist for the Church of England," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 11, no. 1 (2009): 29-56.

¹⁵ For discussions of the possible influence of French court poet, Clement Marot, see *GPSS*, 117-8; Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 121-4; Hugh M. Richmond, *Puritans and Libertines: Anglo-French Literary Relations in the Reformation* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1981), 24-5, 149-78.

¹⁶ Robin Leaver postulates that the Dutch *Souterliedekens* (1540) influenced Sternhold's work as well. *GPSS*, 118-9.

them while performing his duties to the royal family, as Prince Edward became fond of these versions. When Edward became king, Sternhold dedicated a volume of psalms to the king, recounting Edward's love for Sternhold's versifications.¹⁷

Apart from pleasing his king, Sternhold set out to create a complete metrical psalter in English, and he soon began to add more versifications. However, he died before he could finish a second edition. Realising there was a significant market for a second edition, Sternhold's printer, Edward Whitchurche, sought someone to continue the work, and he found a willing collaborator in the clergyman and schoolmaster, John Hopkins. The two men worked quickly, printing eighteen new versions by Sternhold and appending seven by Hopkins at the end of the volume.¹⁸ By presenting Sternhold's psalms as a single unit apart from Hopkins' additions, both Hopkins and Whitchurche paid homage to Sternhold's work, and Hopkins' preface to his own psalms underlined this sentiment:

Thou hast here (gentle reader) vnto the psalmes that were drawn into Englishe metre, by M. Sternholde. vii. mor adioyned. Not to the intent that they should be fathered on the dead man, and so through his estimacion to be the more highly esteemed: Neyther for that they are, in mine opinion (as touching the Metre) on any part to be compared with his most exquisite doings. But especially to fill vp a place, whiche els should haue bene voyde, that the booke may ryse to his iust volume. And partly for that they are fruitful, although they be not fine...¹⁹

Despite this, both men would become synonymous with metrical psalmody during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as their psalters would become known as the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters. More immediately, though, the volume was a great success, with printers produced more than ten editions of it between 1549 and 1552.²⁰

With a favourable monarch in Edward VI, metrical psalmody was in vogue during the early 1550s. Riding this momentum, several individuals other than

¹⁷ *STC* 2419, fol. Aiii^r; Quitslund recently devoted an entire chapter to this early edition of Sternhold's psalms. See *RR*, 19-57.

¹⁸ *STC* 2420.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. Gii^v.

²⁰ See *STCs* 2422-6; *GPSS*, 121.

Sternhold and Hopkins produced psalm versifications, including Robert Crowley, William Hunnis, and Francis Seager.²¹ Educators also began to encourage their students to versify the psalms in order to practice English grammar and Latin translation.²²

Despite the merits of many of these other metrical psalters, none became as popular as the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters. While they were popular as devotional texts, they may have been used in churches as well.²³ John Craig recently noted that a number of parish churches purchased metrical psalters during Edward's reign.²⁴ While these parishes could have purchased any of the available printed metrical psalms, they probably bought the Sternhold and Hopkins versions because of the number of printed editions that appeared during the Edwardian years. The most likely reason for Sternhold's success was his simple and accessible vocabulary that people of all education levels could understand.²⁵ In addition, Sternhold used the popular ballad to provide a familiar basic structure for his versifications. A simple glance at his psalms reveals the skeleton of four-line stanzas split into fourteen iambic couplets that was so common in English balladry.²⁶ While Sternhold's psalms were discrete from ballads, their familiar style and simple language resonated with the public.²⁷

²¹ See *STCs* 2725, 2727, and 2728, respectively.

²² In particular, William Lily's preface recommends the translation of the Psalms and Proverbs as useful Latin exercises. William Lily, *A shorte introduction of grammar* [*STC* 15611] ([London]: [Reginald Wolf], 1549).

²³ Eamon Duffy writes that lay people wanted materials that would help them say their morning prayers, and that prepared them for Communion and Eastertide. Additionally, they wanted prayers and devotional materials that would help them in their daily struggles. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 234.

²⁴ John Craig, "Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 106-7.

²⁵ *MEPC*, 1:26.

²⁶ "Fourteeners" are lines of poetry that contain fourteen syllables.

²⁷ Sternhold's versifications were based on the thematic psalms, rather than the narrative texts of most ballads. They also used different clichés and "padding" phrases than was common in ballads. See Richard B. Weir, "Thomas Sternhold and the Beginnings of English Metrical Psalmody," (PhD. diss., New York University, 1974), 71-6.

Considering the popularity of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, it is no wonder that they became the basis for the metrical psalters that were printed in England and Scotland through the mid-seventeenth century and beyond. While Scots switched to the famous 1650 Scottish Psalter in the mid-seventeenth century, the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalter remained the dominant set of metrical psalm texts in England until Tate and Brady's 1696 edition replaced it in the eighteenth century. However, even after this, the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms continued to be printed in England until 1828.²⁸ Such a prolonged period of influence on British society demands attention.

The metrical psalm traditions of England and Scotland have received some renewed consideration in the past thirty years. Beginning with the efforts of Nicholas Temperley, English metrical psalmody in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been the focus of many monographs.²⁹ However, the most recent monograph to consider Scottish metrical psalmody is Millar Patrick's 1949 survey,³⁰ which did not eclipse the accuracy or content of Rev. Neil Livingston's theses appended to his edition of the 1635 Scottish *Psalms of David in Prose and Meeter*.³¹ Despite this, there has also been a growing interest in Scottish metrical psalmody over the past 15 years. Most notably, Gordon Munro's unpublished dissertation on Scottish song schools and musicians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries questions many of the traditional

²⁸ The last edition was *The whole book of Psalms: collected into English metre* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1828).

²⁹ Though not a complete list, consider: *MEPC*; *GPSS*; Zim, *Metrical Psalms*; Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2010).

³⁰ Patrick, *Scottish Psalmody*.

³¹ Though based on incomplete data, Livingston's discussion remains the most accurate description of reformation Scottish psalmody. Neil Livingston, ed., *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635* (Glasgow: MacLure & Macdonald, 1864).

views on the practice of metrical psalm singing and the dissemination of Scottish metrical psalm tunes.³²

Despite the recent interest in the metrical psalm traditions of England and Scotland, some significant problems and gaps in scholarship remain. One of the most significant problems lies with those who treat English and Scottish metrical psalmody as essentially the same. One such person, Robert Illing, wrote:

A most unfortunate error is the common reference to the Edinburgh edition of the complete psalter as the 'Scottish'. The London and Edinburgh editions are closely related, and referring to them as the 'English' and the 'Scottish' metrical psalters implies that their difference is of the same order as that of the English and the French. It is not; and neither the English nor the Scots seem to have known the metrical psalter as other than the 'Psalms of David' or some such title.³³

Though Illing is correct in evaluating the differences between the English and French psalters, he neglects the significant musical and textual differences in the English and Scottish psalters. Just because the people in England and Scotland may have referred to the two editions by the same title does not mean they were the same. To suggest they were the same or to treat them as such is a mistake that clouds the underlying issues of musical-textual content and performance practice.

Despite Illing's comments to the contrary, some have recognised the separation between the English and Scottish editions of the metrical psalms. In particular, Leaver noted this distinction, but the scope of his monograph relegated his comments about the relationship between English and Scottish metrical psalmody to some passing comments.³⁴ It is surprising that no one has devoted a study to comparing the two

³² Gordon Munro, "Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700" (PhD diss, University of Glasgow, 1999).

³³ Robert Illing, "The English Metrical Psalter of the Reformation," *Musical Times* 128 (Sept. 1987): 517-21.

³⁴ *GPSS*, 255-6.

traditions, especially considering their similar roots and frequent interactions through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁵

In light of this paucity in current research, the following study examines the fledgling metrical psalm traditions in England and Scotland, focusing on the development of the Sternhold and Hopkins editions in each country up to 1640. To do this, the present study surveys the melodies printed in over 350 of the estimated 450 psalter editions printed in these two traditions from 1556 to 1640.³⁶ Since both had their roots in the Anglo-Genevan editions,³⁷ discussion begins with the development of these early editions. Then it considers how each country developed its first complete versified edition of “Sternhold and Hopkins” psalms and considers how both changed through the mid-seventeenth century. The extent to which people followed these proper tunes and tune suggestions has yet to be considered in depth, so the present study considers the varying approaches that people took to the music in printed psalters as evidenced from both historical accounts and printed psalter editions.

The date range selected for this study identifies significant dates in the development of British metrical psalmody. The *STC* estimates that Whitchurche first printed Sternhold’s psalms in 1549, which serves as the start date for the following investigation. Since it compares English and Scottish use of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, the following discussion can only consider the period in which both countries

³⁵ Alec Ryrie’s study of the Psalms in England and Scotland has recently shown how these texts influenced people in the two countries. Alec Ryrie, “The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protsetantism,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010), 114-37.

³⁶ These more than 350 editions are the ones that the author has been able to view either in person or through download from *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, and are listed in the Bibliography and in Appendix B.

³⁷ Recent research has revealed that the community of exiles living in Geneva, which has been commonly called the Anglo-Genevan community, included a significant number of Scots. Despite this fact, the present study maintains the inaccurate title “Anglo-Genevan” as opposed to “Anglo-Scots community at Geneva” in order to preserve clarity and in order to be more concise. Clare Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation 1534-1561* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 149-83.

printed psalters within that tradition. The year 1640 caps the study's range, as it was the final year that Scots printed a Sternhold and Hopkins edition.

There were generally two different types of metrical psalters with music printed from 1549 to 1640; they contained either monodic or harmonised psalm tunes. Given the number of psalter editions considered by the present study, it does not commit to a systematic and detailed analysis of the harmonised tunes that often appeared in print and manuscript in both countries. While the author acknowledges the influence of harmonised settings, especially on later printed melodies, harmonised psalm tunes open up detailed musical discussions that extend well beyond the scope of this study. Instead, the following discussions will centre on monophonic psalm tunes and the tune suggestions that appeared in the metrical psalters printed in each country, noting how these changed from 1549 to 1640.

Given such a focus on monodic psalm tunes, musical analysis is a challenge. Adding to this complexity, these metrical psalters appeared during a significant shift in music theory and composition, which Chapter 1 discusses in more detail.³⁸ These difficulties may be the most significant reason why many have focused on the poetry of the metrical psalms³⁹ rather than the melodies.⁴⁰ Considering the pre-eminence that sixteenth-century reformers placed on Biblical texts, however, it is surprising that scholars have practically ignored the interaction of the tunes with their texts. The following chapters commit to a closer analysis of the tunes in order to describe their interactions with their texts, and Chapter 1 outlines the methodology used for this analysis.

³⁸ See pp. 37-52.

³⁹ In addition to Note 29, see Weir, "Sternhold;" Noreen Jane Bider, "Tudor Metrical Psalmody and the English Reformations," (PhD diss., McGill University, 1998).

⁴⁰ While *MEPC* and *GPSS* provide basic introductions to the tunes contained in the psalters, neither commits to a detailed analysis of the metrical psalm tunes. The catalogues compiled by Maurice Frost and Nicholas Temperley come closest to providing detailed analysis of the metrical psalm melodies, but they are bibliographical listings rather than analytical discussions of the tunes. *Frost; HTI*.

With these foundations established, Chapters 2 and 3 consider how England and Scotland reacted to the Anglo-Genevan psalm settings, placing emphasis on the process by which each country produced its first complete metrical psalter within the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition. Since the English metrical psalm texts have received more attention than Scottish texts,⁴¹ Chapter 3—the chapter on the first complete Scottish metrical psalter—takes a closer look at its versifications. In particular, the chapter often uses a contemporary to this psalter, the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, to evaluate the psalter's poetic texts. As the first listing of the metres employed in the *Ballatis* printed in 1567, Appendix A helps to provide a context for the Scottish psalm versifications.

Chapters 4 and 5 seek to provide a meaningful discussion of how these metrical psalters progressed after the initial complete psalters appeared in each country. To aid in this discussion, Appendix B lists these psalters and provides a complete catalogue of their musical contents, including both the tunes they printed and those they suggested for their psalm texts. While highly indebted to the cataloguing efforts of Temperley in his *HTI*, this new effort corrects some of his tune identifications and includes the tune suggestions that appeared when a psalm text was not provided with a printed melody. It also provides unique insight into the volatility of English metrical psalm printing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which Chapters 4 and 5 discuss at length. Due to the amount of information contained in Appendix B—150 psalm texts each of the 350-plus editions—Appendix C has been created to help synthesise some of this data. It lists the tunes printed for each psalm text both before and after 1604, which also serves as the boundary between the discussions of Chapters 4 and 5.

Drawing on the information gathered in the musical-textual analysis in addition to the historical and statistical analyses presented in the first five chapters, Chapter 6

⁴¹ For example, see *RR*, 155-76, 211-25

describes some historical accounts of psalm singing and discusses several issues surrounding performance practice in each country from 1558 to 1640. While specific records of psalm singing in secular life, parish churches, and even larger churches and cathedrals are scant, psalm singing was common practice in England and Scotland. Appendix D is the author's attempt to codify a list of Scottish sources that mention the performance of a particular psalm text or include a psalm text and tune in a collection of other works. Despite the surprising quantity of these accounts, modern scholars must still speculate about certain aspects of performance practice. Often sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors provided few details of such activities since they were so common. Considering this sparse historical record, the present study relies heavily on the printed psalters to illuminate what descriptions do survive. This approach is not without its difficulties, as it is possible only to postulate whether the printed psalters described, prescribed, or ignored common practice. However, as with many other issues surrounding British metrical psalmody, using historical accounts in combination with the printed psalters helps to illuminate the relationship that existed between print and performance.

The development of metrical psalmody in England and Scotland reveals that the two were related, yet different in print and performance. Despite differing approaches to texts and tunes, the metrical psalms became engrained in everyday life in both countries without regard to age, gender, or social status. Until the turn of the seventeenth century, both countries maintained these distinct singing traditions, but the introduction and popularisation of a small set of tunes that could be paired with a majority of psalm texts began to change this. First appearing in the 1580s in England and after 1600 in Scotland, these Common Tunes brought the two traditions closer

together.⁴² Despite this significant development, however, the two maintained their musical and textual distinctiveness in print and performance through 1640 and beyond.

⁴² This study distinguishes between the group of popular proper tunes—common tunes (lower case)—and those that became codified as the official Common Tunes (upper case).

CHAPTER 1: THE BIRTHPANGS OF BRITISH METRICAL PSALMODY

Divergent traditions of metrical psalmody in Britain originated with the Marian exiles, British Protestants who fled to the Continent to escape persecution by the Roman Catholic rulers, Queen Mary in England and Regent Mary of Guise in Scotland. In particular, the exile community in Geneva influenced the metrical psalters that would dominate Scottish presses until 1650 and English presses until the eighteenth century. Later chapters will consider how both traditions treated this single foundation differently, so it is important first to settle the motives and objectives behind the Anglo-Genevan exiles' editions of the metrical psalms. It is also important to consider how their psalter compilers realised these motives and objectives in their metrical psalters. The following chapter discusses the history of the Anglo-Genevan community as it originated in Frankfurt am Main, and studies the impact of the events surrounding the creation of the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, the first edition of the Anglo-Genevan metrical psalms. It then considers the motives and priorities that shaped the volume and traces the development of the Anglo-Genevan metrical psalms through the other extant editions printed through 1561.

1.1 The Establishment of an Anglo-Genevan Exile Community

After Edward VI died in 1553, Mary Tudor, Edward's half-sister, assumed the throne. Facing persecution under Queen Mary's re-established Roman Catholic law and practice, Protestants fled to cities on the European mainland, including Strasburg, Wesel, Frankfurt, and Zürich. In many of these locations, the exiles joined the existing Protestant churches. A handful, however, received permission to set up their own exile congregations, and most chose to organise their services according to Edward's 1552

Book of Common Prayer. One community's conflict over proper liturgical practice forever changed the course of British Protestantism.

In 1554, a group of exiles including William Whittingham—a linguist and translator who had graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford—arrived at Frankfurt am Main intending to set up an English exile church. Their friend Valerand Poullain, who had been the minister of the French Stranger Church in London during Edward's reign, had settled in Frankfurt in 1553, so these men chose to follow him to the city. They secured approval from Poullain's congregation to worship in its building and from the Frankfurt Magistrates to remain in the city, but the Magistrates added a couple of stipulations. First, they ruled “that the Englishe shulde not discent from the French men in doctrine, or ceremonyes, least they shulde thereby minister occasion off offence...”¹ The Magistrates also required that “...they shulde approue and subscribe the same confession off faith, that the frenche men had then presented, and abowte to put in printe...”² The exiles interpreted this to mean that they could use their own liturgy as long as the practice did not offend those in the French church.³ After examining the English liturgy as printed in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, the exiles agreed to use a modified version of it. Relating to music, they stipulated that in worship “people singe a psalme in metre in a plaine tune...”⁴

Although the exiles chose not to use the liturgy from Poullain's church, their adapted English liturgy was almost identical to Poullain's French liturgy, which raises the question of why the exiles felt they had to reject the French liturgy in the first

¹ *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554* (1575); reprint, London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1846, VI (page citations are to the reprint edition). Though this work remains anonymous, some attempt has been made to establish its author. See Patrick Collinson, “The Authorship of *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford*,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 8 (1958): 188-208; and the forthcoming website Jane E.A. Dawson, “John Knox and the Marian Exiles: new letters, 1554-8,” University of Edinburgh School of Divinity, <http://www.ed.ac.uk/divinity>.

² *Brieff discours*, VI.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., VII.

place.⁵ Many of the Frankfurt exiles had been dissatisfied with the state of the English national church under Edward and considered this as an opportunity to continue reforming the English church. They felt that they had to reject the specific points of the Prayer Book with which they disagreed so they could promote a new English liturgy. A letter from the Frankfurt church to the other English exile congregations in the surrounding areas demonstrated their philosophy; they sought an English liturgy "... free from all dreggs off superstitious ceremonies."⁶

The suggestion that the 1552 Prayer Book retained serious errors met with strong opposition since many exiles approved of it. The actions of the Frankfurt church produced a long and emotional dispute that would involve many of the English exile communities on the Continent. After much debate the Frankfurt congregation finally accepted a new liturgy,⁷ agreeing to try it for three months.⁸ Just over a month later, however, Richard Cox arrived with several others from Strasburg and rekindled the debate by insisting that the church return to the 1552 Prayer Book.⁹ After several failed meetings and attempts at reconciliation, the Prayer Book supporters eventually had the pastor and supporter of the new liturgy, John Knox, thrown out of the city by the Magistrates.¹⁰ The exile church then embraced the 1552 Prayer Book with a few modifications.¹¹ Meanwhile Whittingham, along with other supporters of the revised liturgy, began a three-month search for a new place to live and worship. He first

⁵ Leaver outlines the major components of this liturgy, and notes that it was very close to Poullain's liturgy as printed in his *Liturgia sacra*. GPSS, 219-20.

⁶ *Troubles*, IX.

⁷ The details of this new liturgy and the later "Liturgy of Compromise" are discussed in Robin Leaver, ed., *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles 1555*, no. 38, *Grove Liturgical Study* (Nottingham: Grove Books, 1984), 5.

⁸ GPSS, 223.

⁹ *Troubles*, XXXVIII.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIII-XLV.

¹¹ This liturgy, now known as the "Liturgy of Compromise," is somewhat of a misnomer considering the events that preceded its formulation. Leaver, *Liturgy*, 3-4.

stopped at Basle, and continued to Zürich, Geneva, and possibly Strasburg.¹² In the end, he and 27 others (including their dependents) decided to make Geneva the home of a new English exile church. In the years that followed, the Frankfurt church continued to struggle with various issues, while the newly founded Genevan exile church thrived under peaceful unity.¹³

1.2 Developing the New Sternhold and Hopkins Psalters

Following in the tradition of Sternhold and Hopkins, the 1556 *Forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments* [STC 16561], printed on 10 February in Geneva, was the liturgical book of the newly formed exile church. This was the first publication in the English language to include metrical versifications of the psalms in addition to a liturgy, as none of the previous editions of the English Book of Common Prayer had included versions of the psalms.¹⁴

Despite the clearly dated title page, there has been some disagreement about its publication date. Following English dating, which started each year on 25 March, the Anglo-Genevan Psalter would have been published on 10 February 1557, a date affirmed by Nicholas Temperley in the *HTI*.¹⁵ Since he has also asserted that it was printed in 1556,¹⁶ some discussion of the print date for this original version of the *Forme of prayers* is merited. For several reasons, the later date is unlikely. First, John Crespin, a Genevan printer, produced the volume, so he probably would not have used an English date for his work. Secondly, the personal correspondence between the

¹² Richard Edward Hunter, "William Whittingham: A Study of his Life and Writings with Especial Reference to the Geneva New Testament" (Ph.D. diss, University of Pennsylvania, 1953), 29-31.

¹³ Clare Kellar notes that the Genevan church was peaceful compared to other exile churches in the Low Countries. This is especially surprising considering the mix of English and Scottish citizens present in Geneva. Clare Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation 1534-1561* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 149-83.

¹⁴ For further discussion of this Edwardian practice, see Introduction, pp. 15-17.

¹⁵ "Source: *P AG1," *HTI*.

¹⁶ Nicholas Temperley, "'If any of you be mery let hym synge psalmes:' The Culture of Psalms in Church and Home," in *"Noyses, sounds, and sweet aires": music in early modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 93, 190.

exiles reveals they used Continental dating, not English dating.¹⁷ Finally, a volume entitled *Ratio et Forma Pvblice Orandidevm, at qve Administrandi Sacramenta et caet* [STC 16565] makes 1557 unlikely as the year Crespin printed *The forme of prayers*. *Ratio et Forma* was the Latin translation of the *Forme of prayers*, and its title page lists 1556 as the year of publication. Following common practice for sixteenth-century printers, this Latin translation was intended for people who were unfamiliar with the vernacular language so they could understand and approve the work. While these Latin translations could precede or follow their counterparts, William Maxwell has convincingly argued that editors translated *Ratio et Forma* from the English version and not vice versa.¹⁸ Had Crespin chosen to use English dating for the English-language version then he would have dated the *Ratio et Forma* the same way. However, it would have been illogical to use English dating for the Latin text since it had an exclusively Continental audience. It is most likely that Crespin printed the two volumes—both the *Forme of prayers* and the *Ratio et Forma*—in 1556.

The date of printing is not the only question surrounding the 1556 *Forme of prayers*: its compilers, and time and place of compilation deserve consideration. Beginning with the volume's compilers, the person responsible for starting work on the *Forme of prayers* was Whittingham. He wrote all the new psalm versifications printed in the volume and probably its preface as well. Since Whittingham was also a skilled translator and had some musical training, historians have often credited him as the chief editor and compiler of the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, including the Sternhold and Hopkins revisions. However, this edition's preface suggests that Whittingham may not have acted alone. Robin Leaver has postulated that John Bale may have assisted

¹⁷ Many thanks go my co-supervisor, Jane E.A. Dawson, for providing annotated transcripts of several newly found letters relating to the trials at Frankfurt. Dawson, "New Letters."

¹⁸ William D. Maxwell, *The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931), 9.

Whittingham with the revisions.¹⁹ Bale had versified psalms in the 1540s, but Leaver's timeline necessitates that the Sternhold and Hopkins revisions would have been completed in Frankfurt.²⁰ However, the evidence suggests that these revisions did not begin until after Whittingham arrived in Geneva. Lacking any significant evidence to suggest otherwise, this study maintains the assumption that Whittingham acted as the chief editor of the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. One final known candidate as co-editor for this volume is Anthony Gilby, since he was the only other person in Geneva who had served on the committee that formulated the liturgy used in Frankfurt until Cox arrived. While there is no other evidence to suggest Gilby's involvement in the *Forme of prayers*, his involvement in the Frankfurt liturgical discussions leave him a possible candidate as co-editor with Whittingham.²¹

Because the Anglo-Genevans printed the *Forme of prayers* in Geneva, many assume that work on it started after the exiles arrived there. Notably, Maxwell wrote:

It was not difficult of accomplishment [that is, the completion of the *Forme of prayers* of 1556], for they had already at hand the form which had been prepared at Frankfort by the committee of Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Fox, and Cole...²²

To the interim liturgy used by the Frankfurt exiles before Cox and his supporters arrived in the city,²³ the Genevan exiles added a preface, the metrical psalms, and an English translation of Calvin's Catechism. Despite Maxwell's timeline, several scholars have begun to form a different opinion. Leaver raises an important point, writing: "Although not issued in print until February 1556, the liturgy, and presumably the

¹⁹ Unless Whittingham was using a royal "we" in the preface, it is likely that he had help. Robin Leaver, "John Bale, Author and Revisor of Sixteenth-Century Metrical Psalms," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 34 (1992-3): 98-106.

²⁰ Bale probably versified Psalms 14, 54, and 130 in the 1540s. See *STCs* 1290, 17320, and 848; and Leaver, "Bale," 100-3.

²¹ This committee consisted of John Knox, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, John Fox, and William Cole. See note 22. Aside from Whittingham and Gilby, Knox was in Scotland at the end of 1555, Fox was in Basle, and Cole was still in Frankfurt.

²² Maxwell, *Liturgical Portions*, 8. Maxwell continues to describe this liturgy as the "Liturgy of Compromise," but Robin Leaver has argued that the "Liturgy of Compromise" was the liturgy used in Frankfurt after Knox left. See note 11.

²³ Leaver, *Liturgy*.

metrical psalms and catechism, had been in use, in manuscript form, since the exiles founded their congregation in November 1555.”²⁴ Indeed, the exiles must have sung something in their worship services from the beginning.²⁵ While the manuscript metrical psalms to which Leaver refers may have been the original Sternhold and Hopkins versions, the evidence suggests that work on the 1556 *Forme of prayers* had progressed beyond the collections of these psalm versifications. Considering that Whittingham and the rest of the Frankfurt exiles arrived in Geneva on 13 October 1555, completing all the work on the *Forme of prayers* in Geneva would have been difficult. After all, it required more than Maxwell suggested. The outstanding textual work included revising the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, writing eight new metrical versifications, translating Calvin's Catechism, and changing the liturgy. In addition, someone had to transcribe, arrange, or compose tunes for the new versifications and the Sternhold and Hopkins text revisions.

Although they translated *Ratio et Forma* from the *Forme of prayers*, compilers probably also completed the manuscripts for both versions sometime before 10 February 1556. The title page of the *Forme of prayers* states that it was “approved, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn.”²⁶ Since Calvin did not know English, there must have been a Latin translation available for him to examine and approve before the Anglo-Genevans printed their English version. Therefore, besides the textual and musical work, the Anglo-Genevans had to produce the Latin translation and secure Calvin's approval within the three-month time-span between establishing their church in November 1555 and the completion of the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* in February.

²⁴ GPSS, 226.

²⁵ Beginning with the inaugural service for the Anglo-Genevans in *Marie la nove* church on 1 November 1555, the congregation sang psalms and presumably those versified by Sternhold, Hopkins, and Whittingham. See Charles Martin, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au temps de Calvin 1555-1560* (Geneva : Albert Kundig, 1915), 39, 331-2; also see Dawson, “New Letters.”

²⁶ STC 16561.

Since the compilers probably did not carry out all this work in Geneva, it is important to consider when and where this work actually began, as these contexts could provide insight into the texts and tunes included in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. English liturgical revisionism gained momentum only after the exiles fled to the Continent, so work on the *Forme of prayers* probably began during the exile. In particular, it is most likely that work began during the liturgical debates in Frankfurt.

Because of the limits of existing records, it may be impossible to know when Whittingham worked on his psalm versifications, but a psalter published in Wesel may help. This volume, titled *Psalmes of Dauid in Metre* [STC 2426.8] exists in one copy, which does not have a title page or colophon. Since the exile community was forced to leave Wesel in the spring of 1557, the *terminus ante quem* for the volume must be the beginning of 1557. The correlations between the Wesel *Psalmes of Dauid* and the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, however, suggest that the Wesel congregation printed their edition between 1555 and 1556. It included many of the same prayers, confessions, catechisms, and all eight of Whittingham's original versifications.²⁷ Differing from the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, however, the *Psalmes of Dauid* printed the original Sternhold and Hopkins metrical versions and chose a unique label for Whittingham's psalm versions. Rather than crediting them to their author, they used "Ge" as a reference to Geneva, indicating that the compilers of the Wesel *Psalmes of Dauid* printed the psalter after receiving news that Whittingham and the others had arrived at Geneva.²⁸ Therefore, the *terminus post quem* for the volume was November 1555.

²⁷ These included all seven of Whittingham's metrical psalms and his version of the "Ten Commandments." See GPSS, 199-215; Leaver, *Liturgy*, 4-5.

²⁸ Thomas Lever left Geneva in December 1555 to become the pastor of the church at Wesel. While it is possible he took some early manuscripts and drafts of the *Forme of prayers* with him, at the very least, he carried the news of the formation of the Anglo-Genevan church. See Christina Garret, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 220-1.

The similarity between the Wesel *Psalmes of David* and the 1556 *Forme of prayers* is also helpful in discovering his order of work. Since the Wesel *Psalmes of David* incorporates all the available Whittingham psalm versions, he probably completed them before he settled in Geneva. Though not a metrical psalm, Whittingham's version of the "Ten Commandments" was perhaps one of his first attempts at a metrical translation of Scripture. Since the Frankfurt exiles initially agreed to essentially the same form as that of the French exile church, Leaver argues that the Frankfurt exiles required a versification of the Ten Commandments for their order of worship during Communion.²⁹ While the French church used Marot's metrical version of the Ten Commandments, the English exiles did not have a version in English that they could use. Modelling his version after Marot's versification, Whittingham probably wrote his metrical setting of the "Ten Commandments" to fill this need.³⁰

Besides the "Ten Commandments," Whittingham's selection of metrical psalm versifications included some of the most popular psalms of the time. Despite this, Whittingham may have completed these with the Frankfurt liturgy in mind. Congregants sang a metrical psalm after the statements of remission and absolution from sin.³¹ Though they did not specify any particular psalms, the most fitting texts would have been psalms seeking forgiveness. While Sternhold's versions of Psalms 6 and 32 would have filled this need, two of Whittingham's new versifications— Psalms 51 and 130—would also have been suitable for this portion of the worship service. Psalm 51, of course, remains perhaps the best known of the seven penitential psalms. As the psalm sung by Knox's mentor and later Protestant martyr, George Wishart, the night before his capture, it had a particular significance for reformers—and Knox

²⁹ GPSS, 220.

³⁰ GPSS, 220; "Tune: 178," Frost; Maxwell, *Liturgical Portions*, 64.

³¹ Maxwell, *Liturgical Portions*, 18.

especially.³² With Whittingham's versifications of Psalms 51 and 130 along with Sternhold's versions of Psalms 6 and 32, four penitential psalms may have been available for this portion of the Frankfurt liturgy.

Although they are independent from any specific references or portions from the Frankfurt liturgy, Psalms 133 and 137 may have been relevant to the situation of the Frankfurt exiles and to those who went to Geneva. The Psalm about the blessings of brotherly unity, Psalm 133, would have been particularly poignant in Frankfurt and Geneva. Psalm 137 also resonated with English exiles. This psalm about Israel's Babylonian captivity questions how one can praise God in a foreign land.

Whittingham's verses three and four must have been particularly relevant:

Then they to whome we prisoners were
said to vs tauntinglie,
nowe let vs heare your hebrewe songes
and pleasaunte melodie.
Alas sayd we, who can once frame
his sorrowfull hart to synge:
the praises of our louyng god,
thus vnder a strange kynge?³³

Indeed, even the psalm's argument found in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* confirms the exiles' focus on this psalm, proclaiming, "The people of god in their banishment seinge gods true religion decaye, lyued in great anguyshe and sorrowe of hearte..."³⁴

Whittingham's remaining three psalm versions, Psalms 23, 114, and 115, were not specifically relevant to the events and liturgy of Frankfurt. However, like the rest of his original psalm versions, their proper tunes support the likelihood that he versified the texts and added tunes to them in Frankfurt. Comparing those tunes to the ones appearing with Whittingham's new psalm versifications in the 1558 *Forme of prayers*

³² See Introduction, p. 34.

³³ *STC* 16561, p. 155. The Biblical term, "strange kyng" was used by the exiles about Philip of Spain who married Queen Mary in 1554 and became King of England.

³⁴ The "argument" was a short, prose introduction that preceded each psalm. While it is unclear what role they may have played in liturgical settings, they help modern scholars determine which portions of each psalm text resonated with the compilers of the psalter editions. *Ibid.*, 153.

[STC 16561a], the 1558 tunes often began as Genevan melodies, while the ones from 1556 originated elsewhere.³⁵ It is difficult to know if Whittingham adapted or composed the melodies paired with his psalm versifications, or if another musically minded exile helped him.³⁶ The only Genevan melody used for his original seven psalm versifications appeared with Psalm 130.³⁷ This does not mean that Genevan psalm tunes did not have any influence on the early Sternhold and Hopkins texts, as the 1556 *Forme of prayers* printed Sternhold's versification of Psalm 128 with the Genevan tune for the same psalm.³⁸

While Whittingham probably finished most of his versifications in Frankfurt, he may not have started revising the Sternhold and Hopkins texts until after he arrived at Geneva. The Wesel *Psalms of David* did not use any of Whittingham's revisions, indicating they may not have been well known at the time. Had Whittingham completed his revisions while in Frankfurt, the surrounding English exile congregations probably would have been aware of them, since information spread quickly among the exiles.³⁹ The Wesel psalter probably also would have incorporated them rather than the original Sternhold and Hopkins texts if they were widely available in any form before February 1556.

Considering the debates surrounding the attempted liturgical reforms at Frankfurt, any effort to change the hugely popular Sternhold and Hopkins versifications would also have met strong resistance. However, none of the debates or findings of the

³⁵ GPSS, 231-5; Leaver also notes that many of the other tunes in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* had Genevan, German, and English origins. GPSS, 123-31.

³⁶ Hunter suggested that Whittingham was "probably responsible for the selection of melodies" in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. However, little is known about Whittingham's musical training. We do know that later Whittingham was involved in the grammar and song school as the Dean of Durham and was "very carefull to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapel to furnish the quire with all, himself being skillfull in musick." "Life of Mr. William Whittingham, Dean of Durham," ed Mary Anne Everett Green, in *Camden Miscellany* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1870-1), 6:23; Hunter, "Whittingham," 4-18, 50.

³⁷ In addition to the "Ten Commandments," Whittingham versified Psalms 23, 51, 114, 115, 130, 133, and 137.

³⁸ See "Tune: 147," *Frost*.

³⁹ Dawson, "New Letters."

various “compromise” committees took issue with the metrical psalm settings.

Liturgical practice and ecclesiastical hierarchy were the foci of the debates. Some did question the use of metrical psalms over the prose texts, however, but this discussion was much more easily resolved than the liturgical debates in Frankfurt. A letter from Erkynewald Rawlyns to Richard Chambers provides an example:

Thus for this presentes I com(m)end you to God. & for Godes sake waye those wordes that you & I talked of concerning the Psalmes songe in miter, which as it seamed to me you cold not alowe to be used in the churche so well as the texte it selffe. Indeade it must be graunted, that the texte above all thinges is to be esteamed, but when a man of God shall other in miter or prose wright or preache upon any parte of the scripture not dissentinge frome the true sence and meaning therof, it owght both to be receaved & allowed. Againe, all Christian churches so fare as I have harde & seene, do use to singe their Psalmes in the same order.⁴⁰

Chambers did not question which metrical psalms people should sing or whether certain new psalm versions were suitable, rather he wondered if people should use psalm versifications at all. His statement also suggests that churches regularly sang the Psalms in metre and that these were all sung with plain tunes that did not detract from the text. However, Chambers’ personal liturgical preference allowed prose versions of the Psalms to be read and perhaps chanted, which interestingly paralleled the practice ordered in the Book of Common Prayer. After Rawlins’ explanation of metrical psalm practice, he moved on to his concerns about the liturgy and the “forme” of the Frankfurt church.⁴¹ Such a change of focus suggests that the issue of metrical psalmody was slight in comparison to the liturgical debates in the city.

While Frankfurt would have been a risky environment in which to unveil revisions of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, the exile community of Geneva was the opposite. It provided a safe and peaceful community, in which people encouraged

⁴⁰ Erkynewald Rawlyns, Strasburg, to Richard Chambers, Frankfurt, 24 November 1554, transcript by Jane E.A. Dawson, “John Knox and the Marian Exiles: new letters, 1554-8,” University of Edinburgh School of Divinity, <http://www.ed.ac.uk/divinity>; Denbighshire Records Office, DD/PP/839, pp. 40-1.

⁴¹ Ibid.

clearer and more accurate translations of the Psalms. Since the English psalters of the early 1560s used the new Sternhold and Hopkins texts found in the Anglo-Genevan psalter editions, they probably gained popularity among the other English exile communities shortly after the Wesel *Psalms of David* appeared.

To synthesize, then, Whittingham did not do all his versification work on the 1556 *Forme of prayers* in Geneva. He probably began in Frankfurt with the “Ten Commandments” and sought to fill the liturgical needs there by providing additional metrical psalm texts. When he arrived in Geneva, eight of his metrical texts may have been available and well known to English exile groups on the Continent. Because of the reactions in Frankfurt against the revisionary approach to the English liturgy, work on revising the Sternhold and Hopkins texts probably did not begin until he arrived at Geneva. Besides translating Calvin’s Catechism and the Latin version of the Anglo-Genevan liturgy, Whittingham probably worked on the Sternhold and Hopkins revisions in order to complete them for the 11 February 1556 printing of the *Forme of prayers*.

1.3 Modality and Genevan and Anglo-Genevan Psalm Tunes

The 1556 *Forme of prayers* revisited Sternhold’s translations to make them more faithful to the sense of the Hebrew, as the Anglo-Genevan preface stated:

Nowe to make you priuie also, why we altered the ryme in certeyne places, of hym whome for the gyftes that God had geuyn him we esteemed and reuerenced, thys may suffice: that in this our enterprise, we did onely set God before our eyes and therefore wayed the wordes and sense of the Prophete: rather consideringe the meaning thereof, then what any man had wrytt and chiefly beinge in this place where as moste perfite and godly iudgement dyd assure vs, and thought it better to frame the ryme to the Hebrew sense, then to bynde that sense to the Englishe meter and so either altered for the better in such places as he had not attayned vnto, or els where he had excaped parte of the verse, or some tymes the whole, we added the same.⁴²

⁴² *STC* 16561, p. 21.

Recent research shows that the revisions were translated from Genevan versifications and commentaries rather than directly from the Hebrew. In particular, textual evidence from the new and edited metrical texts suggests that Anglo-Genevan versifiers used the Loïs Budé Bible, Théodore Beza metrical psalms, and Calvin's psalm commentaries—manuscript copies of which Calvin probably made available to Whittingham and his colleagues.⁴³

Despite this, the Biblical texts remained very important to the Anglo-Genevan community, so they incorporated Calvin's musical aesthetic for worship.⁴⁴ That is, they employed tunes that were monodic, with an *ambitus* (range) that rarely extended beyond an octave. The tunes were rhythmically simple in their syllabic treatment of the text, mostly employing breves, semibreves, and minims.⁴⁵ This removed many of the human-imposed emphases on the text through melisma and allowed each word to receive fairly equal musical treatment.⁴⁶ Therefore, following Calvin's influence, the clear proclamation of the text became the highest priority in Anglo-Genevan psalm settings.⁴⁷

Melodies for the Sternhold and Hopkins texts appeared for the first time in print in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, but their origin remains a mystery. Unlike the

⁴³ Beth Quitslund analyses many of Whittingham's texts, comparing them to other coeval psalm texts. *RR*, 142-153.

⁴⁴ See Charles Garside Jr., "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Reappraisal," *Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (October 1951): 566-77 and Charles Garside Jr., "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 60, no. 4 (Aug. 1979): 5-35. See also Pierre Pidoux, "Au XVI^e siècle la Genève de Calvin et le chant des psaumes," *Revue Musicale de Suisse Romande* 44, no. 1 (April 1991): 139-159.

⁴⁵ While the vast majority of the tunes from Calvin's Geneva Psalter treated their texts syllabically, the tunes for Psalms 2, 6, 10, 13, 91, and 138 were not exclusively syllabic. The Anglo-Genevan community, however, chose exclusively syllabic musical settings for their texts.

⁴⁶ There was a trade-off in imposed accentuation between prose texts and metrical texts.

⁴⁷ Throughout the years, Calvin has received undue criticism for his position on church music. While he sought simple music for liturgical practice, Calvin encouraged the use of more complex and even polyphonic musical settings domestically. While many lately have noted Calvin's distinction between private and corporate psalmody, the negative stigma against him unfortunately persists. Albert Dunning, "Calvin, Jean," in *OMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04620>; Jeremy Begbie, *Resounding Truth: Christian Wisdom in the World of Music* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2007), 105-12.

psalm versifiers, psalm-tune composers did not identify themselves. Unfortunately, the lists of exiles living in Frankfurt and Geneva are of little help because most exiles were either university students or merchants and would have had some sort of musical training.⁴⁸ The anonymity of psalm-tune composers provides a point of similarity between them and composers of popular ballad tunes, but that does not mean the psalm tunes were ballads. Composers probably adapted them from various sources, both sacred and secular.⁴⁹ Some have suggested these tunes replaced ballads that had accompanied the Sternhold and Hopkins texts since Sternhold first sang them to Edward VI.⁵⁰ Others suggest that someone in England paired these tunes with their texts for the first time in the early 1550s.⁵¹

Considering the importance that exiles placed on the psalm texts, it seems that compilers of the metrical psalters should have chosen suitable tunes for expressing the text for each psalm.⁵² However, they did not consistently use one of the most commonly discussed methods of matching texts and tunes: the tune's mode. At the time, music theorists often wrote about the ethos or mood associated with the medieval church modes.⁵³ While most agreed that modal ethos existed, their specific mood determinations varied considerably.⁵⁴ Claude Palisca argued that these differences

⁴⁸ See the "Census of Exiles" in Garret, *Exiles*, 67-349.

⁴⁹ *GPSS*, 121-31; Waldo Selden Pratt's comments build on the seminal work of Emmanuel Oretin Douen. Douen first noted the relationship of Genevan psalm tunes to secular chansons. See Emmanuel Oretin Douen, *Clément Marot et le psautier Huguenot*, (Paris: l'Imprimerie nationale, 1878-9; reprint, Amsterdam: P. Schippers, 1967), 1:679-735 (page citations are to the reprint edition); and, Waldo Seldon Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey and Analysis* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 6.

⁵⁰ *MEPC*, 1:33-7.

⁵¹ *GPSS*, 121-131.

⁵² Later, printers appended a treatise by Athanasius and a supplemental treatise that provided examples of situations in which people could each psalm, such as "If any man wil make thee afraied...syng the 10. Psalme." *STC* 2430.

⁵³ Around 1640, both Matteo Nardo and Giovanni del Lago emphasised that composers should choose a mode for their compositions that suits their texts. See Claude V. Palisca, "Mode Ethos in the Renaissance," in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson* (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), 126.

⁵⁴ Palisca, "Mode Ethos," 126-39; Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony Described According to the Sources*, trans. Ellen Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988), 385-

were due to a conflation of three differing sources: Greek writings, medieval plainchant associations, and the latest trends in polyphonic music.⁵⁵ Since much of sixteenth-century music does not fall within the commonly set boundaries of the medieval church modes, the job of settling on a singular modal ethos is particularly problematic. Considering this unclear state of sixteenth-century music theory and analysis, it is important to establish a meaningful method of categorising the psalm tunes before discussing the potential impact of ethos on the text-tune pairings in the metrical psalters.

As Jessie Ann Owens states, modern analysts should seek to use the terminology employed by sixteenth-century music theorists in order to classify sixteenth-century music.⁵⁶ However, much of sixteenth-century music is difficult to classify because of its historical position between the modal system of medieval music and the tonal system of late seventeenth-century music. Despite its transitional position in the history of music, the initial note, cadences, and *finalis* of sixteenth-century music remained important, and this is evident in many sixteenth-century theoretical treatises. Theorists also often retained the modal categorisations traditionally employed to describe the music of their contemporaries.⁵⁷ Since these modal designations were incomplete and often inaccurate in their descriptions of sixteenth-century music, theorists often scrambled to describe the latest trends in music composition.⁵⁸

405; Bernhard Meier, "Rhetorical Aspects of the Renaissance Modes," *JAMS* 115:2 (1990):182-190.

⁵⁵ Palisca's chapter is also particularly helpful in showing these differences. Palisca, "Mode Ethos," 131-2.

⁵⁶ Jessie Ann Owens, "Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, c. 1560-1640," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 183-4.

⁵⁷ Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* and Gioseffo Zarlino's *L'institutioni harmoniche* are two of the more well-known examples.

⁵⁸ The most well documented examples of the struggle to describe this shift theoretically was Glareanus and Zarlino's expansion of the traditional eight-mode system into a twelve-mode system. As contemporaries of the metrical psalm tunes, Glareanus and Zarlino's twelve-mode system will be used as the basis for the following discussions. Also, see Harold S. Powers, "Tonal

Figure 1.1: Tune from Psalm 41 in the 1560 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a.5]



Often the challenges of applying medieval modal theory to sixteenth-century music have been discussed in relation to polyphonic music, but they are also relevant to monophonic psalm tunes.⁵⁹ The tune from Psalm 41 (Figure 1.1) provides a good example of the ways in which strict modal theory is an insufficient method of discussing metrical psalm tunes. As one of the tunes that continued to appear in English and Scottish metrical psalters through 1640, it undoubtedly enjoyed a measure of popularity through the period.⁶⁰ The tune's *finalis* on f, and its *ambitus* extends from c to d¹.⁶¹ Considering its flat system (or, key signature), the tune from Psalm 41 has all the characteristics of either a mode-6 or a transposed mode-12 tune. Sixteenth-century theorists noted the similarity between these two modes, and often the use of the flats differentiated them. The intervals at the beginning of the second phrase of the first line

Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *JAMS* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 428-70; Cristle Collins Judd, "Modal Types and Ut, Re, Mi Tonalities: Tonal Coherence in Sacred Vocal Polyphony from about 1500," *JAMS* 45, no. 3 (Autumn 1992): 428-67. For a discussion of the application of Schenkerian Analysis to early music, see Norman Douglas Anderson, "Aspects of Early Major-Minor Tonality: Structural Characteristics of the Music of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," PhD. Diss. (The Ohio State University, 1992).

⁵⁹ See Harold S. Powers, "From Psalmody to Tonality," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 275-340.

⁶⁰ See Appendix B.

⁶¹ Within the context of this tune, the *finalis* on f would seem to be a misprint (instead of d). But, the fact that it was never corrected in later editions and that harmonised psalters in both England and Scotland concluded the tune with an F-major chord indicates that sixteenth-century Britons did not view it as an error. For examples, see STCs 2430, 2497, 2575, 16577a, and 16599.

and the initial phrase of the fourth line necessitate B \flat s in order to avoid a melodic augmented fourth (tritone) from f to b 1 , but there are several other B \flat s in the tune that are not necessitated by similar constraints. For instance, the first phrase of the second line moves stepwise from f up to c 1 and back down to a 1 . The B \flat s in the second phrase of the third line are similarly not necessary to avoid any dissonant melodic intervals. Since the majority of the B \flat s in the tune are unnecessary, transposed mode 12 describes the tune better than mode 6, but this falls short of describing the tensions found in the tune. In particular, the initial note on d with the system could suggest mode 1 or transposed mode 9, and the following cadences on a 1 and f in the first and second lines perpetuate this possibility. This ambiguity remains through the third and the majority of the fourth lines despite cadences on c 1 and e. However, these cadences place the first significant doubts on modes 1 and 9 as valid categorisations. The final phrase of the fourth line confirms these suspicions, as the melody skips down to c and back up to the eventual *finalis* on f. Considering this early emphasis and sustained ambiguity, the tune from Psalm 41 is a good example of mode mixture. With the sustained use of B \flat s, this tune is classified as transposed mode 12 mixed with transposed mode 9, and such a designation would not have fit within the rules of strict medieval modal theory.

Given this difficulty in categorising sixteenth-century music, some have tried to apply different analytical methods that would accommodate these problems. In connection with these modal considerations, Waldo Seldon Pratt noted another significant shift in liturgical music:

The plan and structure of both verse and music [for reformed hymns and psalms] was largely derived from that found in the popular songs of the period...But [before the 16th century] its structure (that of popular tunes) had not much influenced the practice of professional musicians, whose interest centered more upon the traditional plain-song and its contrapuntal

elaboration. During the 16th century, however, the ecclesiastical and popular lines of musical method began to interweave and combine, bringing to pass a gradual, but significant, transformation in musical style.⁶²

One of the ways in which sixteenth-century liturgical music displays this shift from traditional liturgical styles to popular styles is its tendency towards what modern theorists call tonal music.⁶³ Admittedly an anachronistic term, Pratt asserted that the best way to capture this transformative nature of the psalm tunes was to use both modal and tonal categorisations. Specifically, his analysis of the Genevan psalm tunes focused on the *finalis* of a tune, and whether its scalar progressions displayed more modal, major, or minor tendencies.⁶⁴ The problem with Pratt's analysis is that tonal categorisations of tunes carry a set of expectations, the chief of which is the pre-eminence of the leading tone. Since sixteenth-century psalm tunes rarely used leading tones on a regular basis, Pratt's categorisations are potentially misleading to modern readers.

More recently, Harold Powers wrote about the problems with categorising sixteenth-century music using modal terminology. His analysis was more focused on polyphonic music, and it modified Douen and Pratt's more "tonal" approaches. Powers recognised the tensions between the expectations placed on music by classifying it as either modal or tonal, and he showed how both extremes are unrealistic for sixteenth-century music.⁶⁵ As an alternative, he proposed what he called "tonal types"—an approach that notes the system, *ambitus*, and *finalis*.⁶⁶ While Powers' tonal types have the advantage of avoiding the expectations placed on modal and tonal categorisations, such expectations avoided by his approach can be helpful to those seeking to briefly

⁶² Douen, *Clément Marot*, 1:679-735; Pratt, *French Psalter*, 6.

⁶³ Douen and Pratt noted this tendency in Calvin's Genevan Psalters, and I have previously discussed the continuation of this trend in the Anglo-Genevan, English, and Scottish metrical psalters. See Timothy Duguid, "Politics and the Creation of a Scottish, Protestant Psalm Culture." Masters' thesis, University of Colorado, 2005.

⁶⁴ Pratt, *French Psalter*, 36-7.

⁶⁵ Powers, "Tonal Types;" and Powers, "Psalmody to Tonality."

⁶⁶ Powers, "Tonal Types."

discuss sixteenth-century music. Without an in-depth systematic discussion of these tonal types, simply categorising a tune as “i-c-c,” for example, would have little meaning for modern readers. That is, such a classification does not automatically inform the modern reader of which notes would have begun the tune or provided its important emphases and cadences.

Given the strengths and weaknesses of modal, quasi-tonal, and tonal-type approaches, the current study would seem to have reached an impasse. Pratt’s quasi-tonal approach suffers from the expectations placed on its classifications, which would require constant qualification. Such an anachronistic approach also contradicts Owens’ argument that modern analysis of sixteenth-century music should operate with a sixteenth-century lexicon.⁶⁷ However, systematically establishing a set of expectations for metrical psalm tunes using “tonal types” could easily form a thesis by itself, but that is not the focus of the current study. Since the following requires only a basic terminology to discuss the tunes and their relationships with their texts, it will lean on modal classifications, despite their potential pitfalls. In addition to employing contemporary terminology, such an approach accurately conveys ideas about the tune’s *ambitus*, initial note, and important cadences that are essential for musical-textual analyses.

The present study classifies tunes according to the method employed for Psalm 41 above and as outlined in Table 1.1. That is, it first considers the *finalis* within the context of the system and examines its relationship to the *ambitus* of the tune. Then it notes the important cadences of the tune, comparing those with the ones expected for a particular mode as set out by Zarlino’s *Le institutioni harmoniche*. For tunes that employ mode mixture, this study classifies them according to the mode employed at the end. Some psalm tunes also employ a single mode throughout and only briefly divert from

⁶⁷ Owens, “Concepts,” 183-4.

the modal constructs outlined above. In these cases where a tune overwhelmingly establishes a particular mode, this study considers such deviations as *differentiae*, and classifies the tune according to the overriding mode.

Table 1.1: Key for psalm-tune classifications⁶⁸

Mode	System	<i>Finalis</i>	Ambitus	Cadences
1	<i>natural</i>	D	D-D	D, F, A
	B \flat	G	G-G	G, B \flat , D
2	<i>natural</i>	D	A-A	D, F, A
	B \flat	G	D-D	G, B \flat , D
3	<i>natural</i>	E	E-E	E, G, B
	B \flat	A	A-A	A, C, E
4	<i>natural</i>	E	B-B	E, G, B
	B \flat	A	E-E	A, C, E
5	<i>natural</i>	F	F-F	F, A, C
	B \flat	B \flat	B \flat -B \flat	B \flat , D, F
6	<i>natural</i>	F	C-C	F, A, C
	B \flat	B \flat	F-F	B \flat , D, F
7	<i>natural</i>	G	G-G	G, B, D
	B \flat	C	C-C	C, E, G
8	<i>natural</i>	G	D-D	G, B, D
	B \flat	C	G-G	C, E, G
9	<i>natural</i>	A	A-A	A, C, E
	B \flat	D	D-D	D, F, A
10	<i>natural</i>	A	E-E	A, C, E
	B \flat	D	A-A	D, F, A
11	<i>natural</i>	C	C-C	C, E, G
	B \flat	F	F-F	F, A, C
12	<i>natural</i>	C	G-G	C, E, G
	B \flat	F	C-C	F, A, C

The tune from Psalm 119 in the 1562 *Les Pseavmes mis en rime francoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze* (Figure 1.2) provides another example of the process used in this study. The tune begins on f, but its *finalis* is on a¹. Using a flatted system, it has an *ambitus* that extends from c-c¹, and its major cadences are on a¹ and c. Comparing these characteristics with Table 1.1, it becomes evident that this tune

⁶⁸ See Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the modes: part four of Le istitutioni harmoniche, 1558*, trans. Vered Cohen, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1983).

employs *differentiae* on some level. The two modes that best fit these characteristics are transposed mode 4 (ignoring the *ambitus*), and transposed mode 12 (ignoring the *finalis*). Aside from the *finalis* and *ambitus*, the key difference between the two modes concerns their cadences or melodic emphases. Determining these emphases necessitates a closer examination of the tune. Emphasising F through a triad beginning on f in the first phrase of the first line, the tune briefly stresses g at the midpoint and highlights A by ending on a¹. Through a series of stepwise movements separated by semibreves, the initial phrase of the second line again emphasises an f triad, and the second phrase highlights C by stretching up to c¹ and down to c. The notes f and a once again provide important arrivals in the initial phrase of the third line, despite its cadence on e. Though it cadences on a¹, the final phrase once again highlights f as its initial note. The overriding emphasis on F and the important melodic and rhythmic stresses on F, A, and C suggest the tune is best described as transposed mode 12 with a *finalis* on A as a *differentia*. An examination of the four-part harmonisations by Claude Goudimel, however, suggests that the a¹ *finalis* was an error. He printed an f instead and harmonised it with an F in the *bassus*, c¹ in the *contra*, and f¹ in the *svper*.⁶⁹

Figure 1.2: Tune from Psalm 119 in the 1562 *Les Pseavmes mis en rime*



Since, as discussed earlier, sixteenth-century theorists still emphasised the importance of starting pitches, cadences, and *finalis* within the modal constructs,

⁶⁹ *Les Pseavmes mis en Rime Francoise, par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze. Mis en mvsiqe a qvatre partis par Claude Goudimel* ([Geneva]: Heritiers de François Jaqui, 1565), [Pp viii^v]-Qq i^r.

modern categorisation based on these characteristics can be helpful so long as modern researchers do not go beyond the limitations of such analysis. The current discussion of mode is concerned only with its applicability as a defining factor in pairing tunes with texts. In particular, the question remains if psalter compilers used modal constructs to elicit certain emotions that coincided with a particular tune's text. Since the Genevan psalters acted as the template for the Anglo-Genevan, English, and Scottish metrical psalters, discussion begins with them. The tunes within the 1562 edition of *Les Pseavmes mis en rime* have been assigned modes based on the above discussion, and Table 1.2 lists the results of that analysis.⁷⁰

Table 1.2: Classifications of the tunes in the 1562 *Les Pseavmes mis en rime*

Mode	Psalm texts
1 ("Dorian" or "D mode")	2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 24, 33, 34, 37, 41, 45, 48, 53, 59, 62, 64, 67, 78, 80, 88, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 104, 107, 111, 112, 114, 115, 125, 128, 130, 137, 143, 148, 149
2 ("Hypodorian" or "Plagal D mode")	7, 8, 23, 28, 40, 50, 61, 77, 86, 109, 120, 129, 146
3 ("Phrygian" or "E mode")	26, 31, 71, 94, 102, 131, 132, 142
4 ("Hypophrygian" or "Plagal E mode")	17, 51, 63, 69, 70, 83, 141, 147
7 ("Mixolydian" or "G mode")	15, 19, 27, 46, 57, 74, 75, 82, 85, 116, 126, 136, 145
8 ("Hypomixolydian" or "Plagal G mode")	30, 44, 58, 76, 87, 93, 103, 113, 117, 121, 127, 139
9 ("Aeolian" or "A mode")	4, 6, 22, 38, 39, 65, 72, 106
10 ("Hypoaolian" or "Plagal A mode")	16, 18, 55, 110, 144
11 ("Ionian" or "C mode")	1, 3, 21, 29, 32, 36, 47, 52, 68, 73, 81, 84, 97, 105, 122, 133, 138, 150
12 ("Hypoionian" or "Plagal C mode")	25, 35, 42, 43, 49, 54, 56, 60, 66, 79, 89, 98, 99, 101, 108, 118, 119, 123, 124, 134, 135, 140, Ten Commandments, Song of Simeon

To explore any possible connections between psalm texts and the mode of their assigned tunes within the 1562 edition of *Les Pseavmes*, it is important to treat the

⁷⁰ This psalter is available in facsimile, see *Les Pseavmes mis en rime Francoise Par Clement Marot, & Theodore de Beze*, in *Les Psaumes en vers Français avec leurs mélodies*, ed. Pierre Pidoux (Geneva : Librairie Droz, 1986).

volume as a self-contained whole. Since theorists disagreed about which mood matched each mode, these classifications may or may not follow the traditional modal ethos designations discussed by theorists such as Franchino Gaffurio, Pietro Aron, and Heinrich Glarean.⁷¹ Instead, the purpose of the following discussion is to determine if psalter compilers consistently paired psalm texts describing certain ideas or emotions with certain modes. In short, did psalter compilers employ a consistent modal ethos? Before beginning any discussion on mode ethos, however, one should note that exceptions always existed. In a negative sense, there are potentially several examples in which a composer did not pair a text portraying a certain idea or emotion with the expected mode. Had the Genevan compilers consistently paired particular modes with texts describing specific emotions or theological concepts, the metrical texts within each modal category should all describe the same ideas or emotions.

The psalms classified as mode 3 provide a useful opening set of tunes for a discussion of modal ethos in the psalters, as this group of nine psalm texts encompasses the full range of emotion found in the Book of Psalms. The tune paired with Psalm 100 in the 1551 *Pseaumes octantetrois de David* serves as a microcosm of the emotional spectrum to be found within this modal category.⁷² A psalm calling all people to serve and worship God, Psalm 100 is one of the great expressions of praise in the Book of Psalms. However, this tune also appeared in the *Pseaumes octantetrois* with Psalm 131, which is a quiet and introspective expression of faith in God. Similarly, the 1562 edition paired this tune with Psalm 142—one of the Penitential Psalms—that begins, “I cryed vnto the Lord with my voice: with my voice I prayed vnto the Lord (v. 1, Geneva Bible).” By pairing the same tune with the varying texts of Psalms 100, 131, and 142, compilers did not employ a consistent modal ethos for this particular tune.

⁷¹ See Palisca, “Mode Ethos,” 131.

⁷² This volume was: Clement Marot and Theodore de Beze, *Pseaumes octantetrois de David, mis en rime Francoise* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1551).

Another mode-3 psalm tune, the one paired with Psalm 102 also displays some inconsistency. Rather than a varied historiography, the text paired with this tune contrasts sharply with other texts paired with similar tunes. This psalm begins:

O Lorde, heare my prayer, and let my crye come vnto thee. Hide not thy face from me in the time of my trouble: incline thine eares vnto me: when I call, make haste to heare me. For my dayes are consumed like smoke, and my bones are burnt like an herthe. Mine heart is smitten and withereth like grasse, because I forgate to eate my bread. For the voyce of my groning my bones doe cleaue to my skinne... (vv. 1-5, Geneva Bible)

Rather than a joyful exhortation for others to worship God as found in Psalm 100, the psalmist is lonely, oppressed, and depressed in Psalm 102. In fact, it is one of the most graphic examples of human suffering found in the Book of Psalms. Like many others, however, Psalm 102 does not leave the psalmist wallowing in his misery, but neither does it provide the full resolution that is so often found in similar psalms. The psalmist instead focuses on God's power and pity for His people. Indeed, comfort for the psalmist comes from an acknowledgement of God's greater plan for the salvation of His people. While the psalmist may not see a resolution for all his troubles in this life (v. 23), he has faith in God's unending love and faithfulness for His servants and their children (vv. 26-8).

The emotional characteristics of the seven remaining mode 3 psalms fall between the extremes of Psalms 102 and 100. Thinking in terms of a continuum with Psalms 102 and 100 at opposite ends, Psalms 31 and 71 would arguably lie at the midpoint, since both plead for deliverance and promise to praise God if freed. Psalms 26, 94, and 142 all ask God to deliver from oppression in a much more reserved fashion than Psalm 102. The rest, Psalms 131 and 132, lie between the midpoint psalms and Psalm 100 as simple and quiet prayers of faith and patience in the Lord. This broad range of emotions displayed in the mode-3 psalm tunes suggests that Genevan composers did not consistently assign modes to the particular emotions expressed in the psalms.

The other mode groupings display similar problems. Tunes using mode 2 appear with the cry for deliverance from the murderous intent of evil men found in Psalm 7 and the explosion of praise found in Psalm 8. Just as puzzling is the use of mode-11 tunes to express both Psalm 52's cursing of evil men and Psalm 150's call for the whole earth to praise God. Such varying emotional content in each modal category suggests that Genevan compilers did not consistently apply modal ethos when pairing their texts and tunes.

Table 1.3: Classifications of the tunes in the 1561 *Forme of prayers*

Mode	Psalm texts
1 ("Dorian" or "D mode")	9, 30, 50, 51, 73, 91, 94, 104, 107, 112, 119, 120, 126, 130, Lord's Prayer
2 ("Hypodorian" or "Plagal D mode")	15, 20, 34, 58, 70, 129
3 ("Phrygian" or "E mode")	7, 8, 12
4 ("Hypophrygian" or "Plagal E mode")	36
7 ("Mixolydian" or "G mode")	111, 134
8 ("Hypomixolydian" or "Plagal G mode")	62, 127
9 ("Aeolian" or "A mode")	1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 85, 115
10 ("Hypoaolian" or "Plagal A mode")	138
11 ("Ionian" or "C mode")	16, 17, 29, 32, 37, 47, 101, 113, 122, 125, 133, 148, 149
12 ("Hypoionian" or "Plagal C mode")	3, 4, 5, 14, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49, 52, 54, 63, 67, 68, 71, 78, 79, 82, 88, 90, 100, 103, 114, 121, 123, 124, 128, 137, 142, 146, Lord's Prayer (2 versions), Song of Simeon, Ten Commandments

Genevan compilers passed this indifference to their Anglo-Genevan counterparts, as evidenced by a similar classification of the tunes in the 1561 *Forme of prayers*, shown in Table 1.3. This edition was the most complete collection of psalm texts and tunes, and it was the last of the editions printed by the Anglo-Genevan community. It displays a similar diversity to that of its Genevan counterpart, and its mode 2 group of psalm tunes provide one example of its similarly inconsistent

application of modal ethos. Within this group, Psalms 20, 34, 58, 70, and 129 share a common theme of God's judgement of evildoers and deliverance of his people. Psalm 15, on the other hand, focuses on the qualities of the righteous person. Such an incongruence of emotional character among texts raises the question of why composers used similar tunes for these former five psalms in addition to Psalm 15.

These ethos-related problems in the 1561 *Forme of prayers* are not confined to the mode-2 group of tunes; its other groupings display similar inconsistencies. First, Whittingham set the Lord's Prayer to metre three times, and each metrical version appears with a unique tune.⁷³ Two of those tunes appear in the mode-12 group of tunes, while the other appears in mode 1. The two modes sound very different, and they use different *finalis*, *ambitus*, and cadences (see Table 1.1). Any consistent enforcement of a modal ethos would have prohibited such an assignment. Using mode-12 tunes, the two well-known Psalms 121 and 137 are also an interesting combination. The well-known "Travellers' Psalm," 121, expresses reliance upon God to preserve his people in all their daily affairs. Psalm 137, on the other hand, is known as the "Exiles' Psalm," and describes Israel's grief over its captivity and asks God to violently destroy its Babylonian captors—including dashing the Babylonian children against the rocks. While one could argue that these psalms could form a continuum in which the text of Psalm 121 informs and illuminates that of 137, the explanation for the grouping extends beyond the boundaries of the discussion of the use of a consistent modal ethos throughout the metrical psalter.

The Genevan and Anglo-Genevan editors seem not to have composed their tunes according to a traditional standard of modal ethos. They often paired similar tunes—at least by sixteenth-century standards—to emotionally dissimilar texts. This

⁷³ It is not known why the 1561 edition includes three versions of the Lord's Prayer. Since it was a regular part of the worship service, Whittingham may have created three metrical versions so that it would remain fresh for worshippers and not slip into the realm of the commonplace and routine.

apparent randomness to the modal-textual relationships begs the question of whether the tunes were randomly assigned to their texts, and discussion now proceeds to consider the relationships between the Anglo-Genevan tunes and texts.

1.4 Connecting Tunes and Texts

The evidence suggests that while modal ethos did not play a significant role in tune and text pairings, the tunes were nevertheless tailored to each individual psalm text. While this may have changed back in Britain as will be discussed in later chapters, it is certain that Anglo-Genevan editors originally intended the texts to be sung to their accompanying proper tunes. After all, Calvin argued for a unique metre and tune for each psalm, so the exiles probably sought a similar diversity in their metrical psalters. Though his discussion was concerning intervallic affect, Timothy R. McKinney's recent remarks are nonetheless valid when considering the tunes in the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan psalters:

Yet we must keep in mind that a composer is not obligated to introduce a certain affective device each time it might be appropriate, nor to use the same means always to represent a particular concept, nor to reserve a particular device for a particular affective situation only.⁷⁴

Indeed, a sixteenth-century composer had a number of tools at his disposal for expressing a text.⁷⁵ These included register, quality and quantity of intervallic leaps, and note duration just to name a few. With this in mind, it is important to examine the texts and tunes more closely in order to establish the connection between the two in the psalters printed by the Anglo-Genevans.

Fitting Hebrew poetry into English fourteeners is a daunting task, and many have failed poetically throughout the centuries. Richard Hunter noted that even the celebrated poet John Milton fell short of the standard set by his own *Paradise Lost* in his

⁷⁴ Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 55.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

metrical setting of Psalm 1.⁷⁶ It is unsurprising that Whittingham's revisions have received similar criticism. Anthony Wood "mused many years ago that Sternhold's psalms were better before they were tampered with."⁷⁷ Further, many have echoed the assertion that poets of the metrical psalter "had drunk more of Jordan than the Helicon."⁷⁸ While Richard Weir noted that Whittingham was methodical and that he improved Sternhold's verse in many ways,⁷⁹ he agreed with Anthony Wood's assessment in the end.⁸⁰ However, this raises the question of whether such harsh disapproval is fair and representative of Whittingham's metrical psalms.

Critics have focused their attention on the poetic faults of Whittingham's work, but it seems that they have forgotten that Whittingham originally intended his texts to be sung. To their credit, these critics based their comments on the later psalters printed in England which readily mixed tunes and texts, but these historians have separated the metrical psalm texts from their music too often. As texts intended to be sung, Whittingham's metrical versions deserve poetic re-evaluation within their original contexts, that is, with their tunes. Weir gave a poetic analysis of Whittingham's revisions, which is a good basis for a discussion of the music's relation to the text.⁸¹ His analysis revealed that the revisions suffered from a number of different types of poetic problems. The most common, however, concern problems with enunciation and accentuation. Psalms 1, 7, and 68 provide a representative sample of these problems, and they reveal how the music either helped or hindered the text.⁸²

⁷⁶ Hunter, "Whittingham," 187-9.

⁷⁷ Weir comments on Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*. Richard Weir, "Thomas Sternhold and the Beginnings of English Metrical Psalmody" (PhD diss., New York University, 1974), 205

⁷⁸ Hunter, "Whittingham", 200.

⁷⁹ Weir, "Sternhold", 156-61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 161, 205.

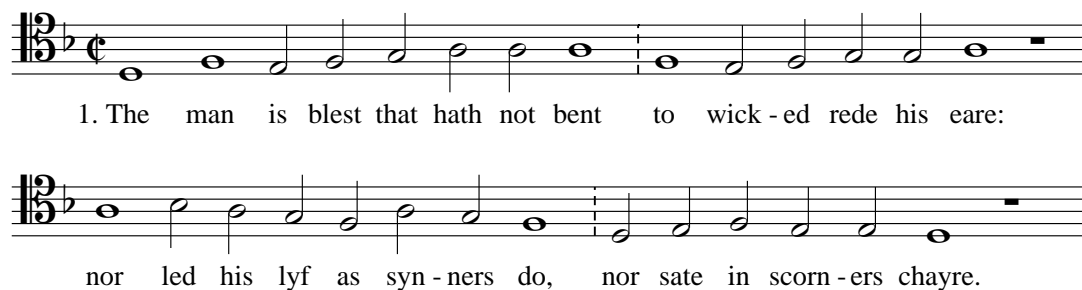
⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 166-96.

⁸² As discussed earlier, this study accepts the theory that Whittingham was the sole editor of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts and the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. See p. 32.

Table 1.4: Revised text of Psalm 1

Al such psalmes, 1549	Forme of prayers, 1556
The man is blest that hath not gon by wicked men rede astray, Ne sate in chayre of pestilence, nor walkt in sinners waye.	The man is blest that hath not bent to wicked rede his ears: nor led his lyfe as sinners do, nor sate in scorners chayre.

The first of Whittingham's revisions under consideration comes from Psalm 1 (Table 1.4). In this part of the psalm, Whittingham extensively changed Sternhold's original versification, rewording it and changing its rhyming patterns. Weir notes that Whittingham has undesirably ended the first line with a consonant t and begun the second line with that same consonant. While this is not preferable poetic practice, the tune corrects its potential negative effect (Figure 1.3). By placing two semibreves, or gathering notes, on the two words, the tune seemingly aggravates the problem. But, by skipping down a third after preparing it with three unison notes, the tune creates a clear aural differentiation between the two words.

Figure 1.3: Psalm 1:1 in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561]

The second line (Figure 1.3) shows a second problem with the revision. Whittingham highlighted the simple parallelism in Sternhold's text between "ne sate" and "nor walkt" by adding comparative alliterations on l and s. The parallel melodic motifs with an initial interval upward followed by a downward motion by steps also draw attention to this area of the text. Thus, Whittingham's emphasis on the parallel alliterations in Psalm 1 should be applauded by theologians. By calling attention to

these two lines, he clearly set forward the principle that both those who sin and those who unjustly condemn others will not receive blessing from God.

Table 1.5: Revised texts of Psalm 7

Al such psalmes, 1549	Forme of prayers, 1556
Lest lyke a lion they deuour, my soule in pieces small:	2. Lest lyke a lyon he me teare, and rent in pieces small:
Or haue rewarded ill for ill, in those that harmed me: Or rashely robde mine enemye, with great extremitie.	5. Or to my friend rewarded euell, or left him in distresse, Which me persued moste cruelly and hated me causeless
For why, the wicked trauailed, in mischief men to cast: Conceiued sorrow, and brought forth, vngodly fraud at last.	15. But loe, thogh he in trauaill be of his diuelish forcast, and of his mischief once conceiued, yet bringth forth noght at last.

Psalm 7 has several changes of varying quality (Table 1.5). The first set of changes found in the second verse deals with word choice and not metre, so the music can do little to help. Besides the problem of destroying Sternhold's run-on, substituting "rent" for "soule" in the second line unnecessarily adds to the violence of the verse. While the music does nothing to restore the poetic beauty of Sternhold's original, it makes the best of the revision. Verse 2 (Figure 1.4) preserves the minim rhythm, and the tune de-emphasises "he" by quickly passing over it to arrive at the word "teare." The following musical line suggests the action in the text. First, the interval between "and" and "rent," is a fifth, the tune's largest leap. It clearly expresses this violent tearing. From there Whittingham broke the tune into two pairs of notes that are a third apart. Such a division of the melody reinforces the small pieces rendered by the "lyon."

Whittingham's verse 5 is an example of misappropriation of poetic accent. As Weir notes, the revision, "and hated me causeless" makes more rhetorical sense, but it replaces an absurd statement with an absurd accentuation (emphasising "ha-", "me", and "-less").⁸³ Since the line occurs at the end of a stanza, as Figure 1.4 shows, it is

⁸³ Weir, "Sternhold," 169.

nearly impossible to fix the problem musically. Rather than helping the issue, the tune only further highlights it. Though the tune could not fix the metrical issue, making the penultimate note a semibreve would have preserved the word's proper accent while upholding proper emphasis for the final note of the stanza. Instead, the tune employs a pair of minims leading up to the final, which only further de-emphasises the penultimate note in favour of the final.

Figure 1.4: Psalm 7:2, 5, and 15 in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561]

2. Lest lyke a ly - on he me teare, and rent in piec - es small:
 5. Or to my friend re - ward - ed euell, or left him in dis - tresse,
 15. But loe, thogh he in tra - uaill be of his deuel - ish for - cast,
 whyles there ys none to suc - cour me, and ryde me out of thrall.
 Which me per - sued moste cru - el - ty and hat - ed me cause - less:
 and of his mis - chief once con - ceiued, yt bringeth forth noght at last.

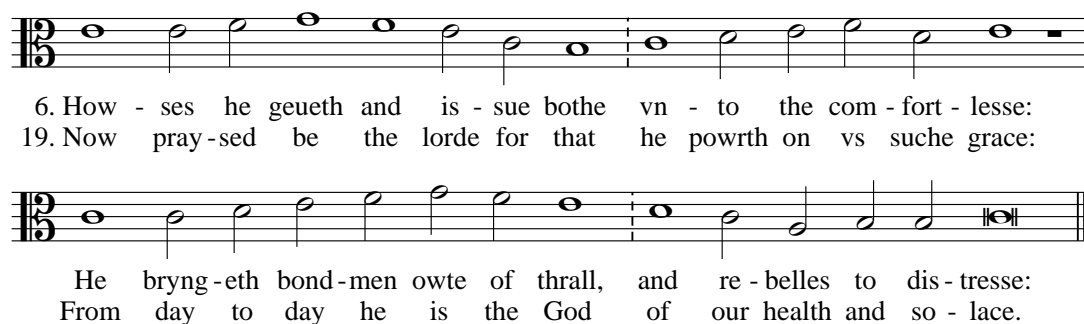
Some other verses in the psalm did not have these same problems, as shown in verses 2 and 15 (Figure 1.4). Both verses are iambic, so the melody suits their accents. Regarding verse 15, however, Weir rightly states, “that they can be sung is the best that can be said for lines two and four of the Whittingham version.”⁸⁴ Though the tune uses the unsettling paired note pattern described earlier to express the “diuelish forcast,” the accentuation pattern of the words does not fit the tune. Because of the skips, “-lish” and “-cast” become the accented syllables, mirroring the poetic cadences. Meanwhile, the minim note lengths through the phrase serve as the only effort to rescue the text, but they cannot fully equalise the accents created by such significant melodic leaps.

The final points of dispute with Whittingham’s revisions under consideration in the present discussion apply to Psalm 68. In the sixth verse, Whittingham starts with the word “howses,” which stresses the second syllable. Weir’s melodic commentary

⁸⁴ Ibid., 170.

asserts, “But the accent cannot be shifted on *howses*, and the singing cadence for the line cannot accommodate the word in any other way but to accent it on the second syllable.”⁸⁵ However, the melody does shift the accent to the first syllable by using a semibreve gathering tone, and it de-emphasises the second syllable with a minim on the same note (v. 6, Figure 1.5). Since the tune is in DCM, perhaps Weir did not realise the text within the tune correctly.

Figure 1.5: Psalm 68:6, 19 in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561]



Verse 19 similarly stresses “owre” and “and” in its final line, “of owre health and solas.” Looking back to Figure 1.5, the musical line begins with a semibreve on d¹, placing emphasis on the word, “of.” Then the melody moves down a step with a minim on c¹ followed by an interval of a third down to a minim on a. The skip down places emphasis on the second note, in this case the word “health.” From that low point, the melody moves back up, repeating the b, and closing on c¹. The repetition before the cadence works against the poetic accent on “and,” placing the stress on “sol-.” Again, by providing a neutral backdrop for the text, the tune rescues the metrical disaster.

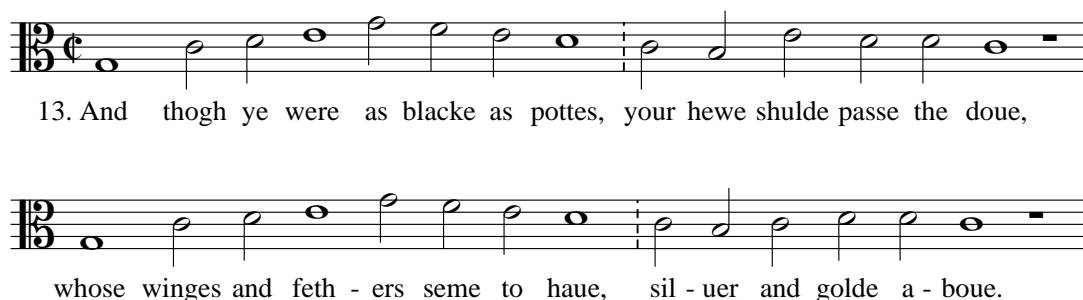
The final area of concern in this psalm appears in verse 13, which Whittingham closes with the phrase “syluer and golde aboue.” While it is another example of a displaced accent in the text, the melody again solves the problem. Figure 1.6 reproduces this verse with its tune. The entire phrase neutralises any displaced accents because it uses minims moving either stepwise or in repetition. As the only

⁸⁵ Ibid., 185.

repeated note, the penultimate note allows the poetic accent to come through.

However, “syluer” appears at the beginning of the phrase, escaping any accentual misappropriation. One could say the same for the last line of verse 18, which reads, “in thy temple dyuyne.” Though poetically the accents occur in the wrong places, this same melody fixes the problem through allowing the naturally spoken accents to take precedence.

Figure 1.6: Psalm 68:13 in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561]



There is some question about accentuation in sixteenth-century English prosody,⁸⁶ and admittedly discussions that centre on such concerns can be suspect. While Weir does not discuss the differences between modern-day and sixteenth-century English prosody, most of his concerns centre on prosodic issues that would apply to the English language as a whole. For instance, conjunctions and verb endings are generally unimportant components, so emphasising them (whether in modern or sixteenth-century English) would seem out-of-place. Thus, the examples discussed above have focused on these clear-cut examples of misplaced poetic accents rather than ones that are more questionable.

Weir’s analysis of Whittingham’s emendations to the Sternhold and Hopkins texts lists over 40 concerns, but the tunes rectify a vast majority of these.⁸⁷ Therefore,

⁸⁶ Alison Wray has written about English pronunciation, especially as it was sung in the sixteenth century. See Alison Wray, “English Pronunciation, c. 1500-1625,” in *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 90-108.

⁸⁷ As shown in the earlier examples, the tune did not help every case of misplaced poetic accents (also see Pss. 2:1, 7:5, 13:6 and 63:5). The melodies could also not help instances of awkward

it seems clear that compilers recognised the poetic weaknesses of Whittingham's revisions and actively sought to shape the tunes to compensate for these weaknesses. In one sense, the quality of Whittingham's art is irrelevant, as his versifications and resetting of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts undeniably influenced most populations of both England and Scotland through the end of the seventeenth century. Whittingham's versifications were admittedly crude and resorted to doggerel; however, their metre was not as awkward to sing as it was to recite. Therefore, Whittingham successfully provided reliable versifications of the psalms that he intended people to sing in church and at home.

1.5 Developing the Anglo-Genevan Psalter

After finishing the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, Whittingham's attention probably shifted to the Geneva Bible and other projects, as he printed his translation of the New Testament in 1557.⁸⁸ This probable change in compiler was not the only one to be made in later editions of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*. As noted earlier, Calvin encouraged the use of a unique melody for each psalm, and the 1551 *Pseaumes octantetrois* and 1556 *Forme of prayers* both subscribed to this ideal, printing a unique melody for each of their psalm texts. However, this goal changed in the 1558 edition, also printed as *The Forme of prayers and ministration of the sacramentes, &c* [STC 16561a]. The priorities of this new volume were textual expansion and musical consolidation. Adding nine new metrical texts by Whittingham and two by John Pulleyne (not to be confused with Valerand Poullain in Frankfurt), this edition also

elisions (Ps. 5:4 and 5), poor word choice (Pss. 9:7 and 10:17), and syntax (Ps. 9:13). However, these latter three examples were rare in Whittingham's revisions of Sternhold's and Hopkins' texts. The majority of the problems listed by Weir are corrected by the melody (cf. Pss. 2:9, 3:8, 8:8, 20:3, 25:14, 41:6, and 49:15).

⁸⁸ Indeed, 1556-8 were very busy years for Whittingham, as he printed a number of works, including a translation of a predestinarian work by Beza titled *A Brief Declaration of the Chief Points of the Christian Religion* and introductions to Nicholas Ridley's *Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper* and Christopher Goodman's *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* [STC 12020]. He also was married in 1557 and had two children by 1558. Hunter, "Whittingham," 51-7; David Marcombe, "Whittingham, William (d. 1579)," *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29329.

added 17 new tunes. However, its compilers removed 27 tunes. While some texts that previously had a proper tune appeared with one of the new tunes, others had only a suggested tune.⁸⁹ Altogether, the new edition contained 62 psalm texts and 41 tunes.

Considering that the 1556 psalter printed a tune for each psalm, it is a mystery why compilers did not similarly provide a unique tune for each text in the 1558 edition. Most probably, musical composition and arranging could not keep up with the work on the versification. To the benefit of modern historians, however, this musical contraction clearly indicates which tunes from the 1556 edition the Anglo-Genevans sang most often. Included in this group were all seven of Whittingham's psalm versifications and his "Ten Commandments" from the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, reinforcing the earlier argument that both his tunes and texts were a regular part of the Anglo-Genevan liturgy. Of the remaining tunes from the 1556 edition, 22 remained with their original texts.⁹⁰ It is therefore almost certain the Anglo-Genevan church sang these 22 psalms to their printed melodies. In addition, the tunes for Psalms 2 and 42 from the 1556 edition probably were also commonly sung, since the 1558 edition printed them for Psalms 10 and 33, respectively.

Because the 1558 *Forme of prayers* kept so many tunes from the 1556 edition, it preserved its Anglo-Genevan character. This character does not refer to any sense of musical style, as the Anglo-Genevan psalm tunes are thus far musically indistinguishable from the Genevan psalm tunes. Rather, it refers to the repertory of tunes retained in the 1558 edition, and the familiarity involved in reusing much of the same musical content. In addition, the new tune set to Psalm 14 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* was an adaptation of the tune from Psalm 8 in the 1556 edition, and the new tune for Psalm 119 appeared in Coverdale's *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* for

⁸⁹ For more information about the texts that were paired with tunes from elsewhere in the psalter, see Appendix B.

⁹⁰ The Psalm texts in the 1558 edition that remained with their 1556 tunes were Psalms 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 16, 21, 23, 29, 30, 41, 44, 51, 73, 78, 103, 114, 115, 130, 133, and 137. See Appendix B.

"The Creed."⁹¹ While the 1558 edition remained distinctively Anglo-Genevan, Calvin's Genevan psalters nonetheless continued to have an important impact. Of the 17 tunes that appear for the first time in the 1558 edition, ten were based either wholly or in part on tunes in the Genevan psalter (Table 1.6). Frost and Temperley revealed eight of these matching tunes, but two others deserve recognition.

Table 1.6: Genevan psalm tunes first appearing in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]

Geneva Tune	Corresponding tune in 1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Psalm 1	Psalm 50
Psalm 22	Psalm 71*
Psalm 107	Psalm 120
Psalms 117 and 127	Psalm 127
Psalm 121	Psalm 121
Psalm 124	Psalm 124
Psalm 129	Psalm 129
Psalm 134	Psalm 68
Psalm 134	Psalm 79*
"Song of Simeon"	"Song of Simeon"

Compiled from Frost and Temperley, *HTI*.

* Not previously attested.

The first of these tunes from the 1558 *Forme of prayers* based on a Genevan tune under consideration is that printed for Psalm 79 (Figure 1.7), which is the most obvious of the new attributions. The composer based it on the first phrases of the French tune from Psalm 134 (Figure 1.8), which in its original form would become known as "Old Hundredth." There are several differences between the two versions, including clef, system, starting note, and *finalis*. However, the first two phrases of the Anglo-Genevan version repeat the melodic motion of the Genevan version almost exactly. Beginning with a semibreve g, the Anglo-Genevan tune immediately jumps up to c¹ and follows the melodic contour of the Genevan tune through the rest of the two opening phrases, transposed up a fifth and with varied rhythms. After the opening two phrases, the Anglo-Genevan tune deviates from its Genevan predecessor, but it returns

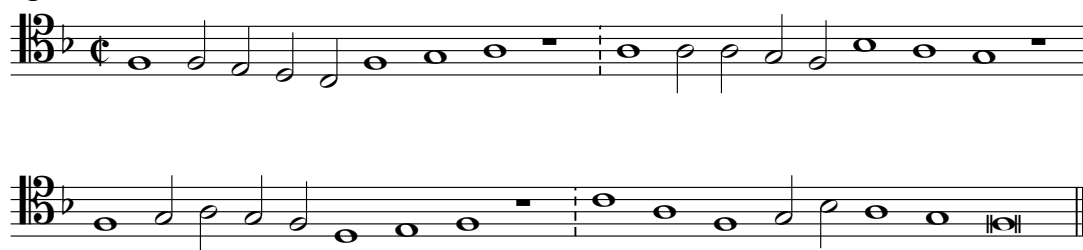
⁹¹ "Tune: 120a," *HTI*.

to the theme of the second phrase in its third line. The semibreve e^1 precedes two minims also on e^1 before the step down to d^1 , and the following upward leap and descent back to d^1 are essentially a rhythmically extended version of that second phrase. The effect in performance of the Anglo-Genevan tune probably would have reminded singers of the Genevan tune.

Figure 1.7: Tune from Psalm 79 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]



Figure 1.8: Tune from Psalm 134 in the 1551 *Pseaumes octantetrois*



Anglo-Genevan compilers also based their tune from Psalm 71 (Figure 1.9) on a Genevan tune. The Genevan model for this tune came from Psalm 22 (Figure 1.10), but the Anglo-Genevans modified it just as they did with their tune from Psalm 79.

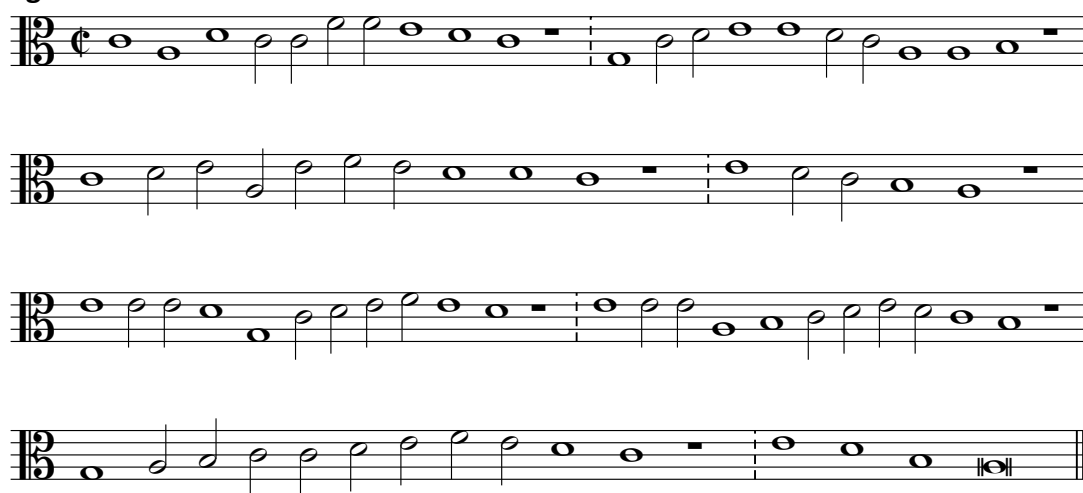
Transposing the opening phrase of the Genevan tune, the Anglo-Genevan version retains the melodic progression of its predecessor. This time the Anglo-Genevan tune transposed the Genevan tune down a fifth, and it extended one Genevan phrase into two phrases. Allowing for some differences in rhythm and passing tones between the

two tunes, the melodic contour of the first line of the Genevan tune corresponds to the contour of the first two lines of the Anglo-Genevan tune. In addition, the final line of the Anglo-Genevan version resembles the third line of the Genevan tune. Both tunes distinctively move down a sixth before leaping up a fourth, and stepwise motion up another fourth and back down a third follows this. Once again the two tunes, though not exact replicas, are nonetheless related, and undoubtedly singers would have heard the correlation.

Figure 1.9: Tune from Psalm 71 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]



Figure 1.10: Tune from Psalm 22 in the 1551 *Pseaumes octantetrois*



Considering the other tunes based on Genevan melodies (Table 1.6), these examples show the increased influence of the Geneva psalters on the Anglo-Genevan community after 1556, and most historians and musicians have recognised this connection. In fact, perhaps one of the most often cited deficiencies of the Anglo-Genevan editions is that they tried to shoehorn English texts into the French Genevan tunes.⁹² These two newly discovered correlating tunes, however, suggest that while the Genevan tunes influenced the Anglo-Genevan versifiers, their relationship was not one of servile obedience to the Genevan originals. That is, the Anglo-Genevan compilers felt free to adapt and arrange the Genevan tunes for their own purposes.

While many of the psalm texts in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* appeared with proper tunes, several did not, as musical production could not keep up with textual production. The 1558 *Forme of prayers*' treatment of these remaining psalms was an innovation for the Geneva tradition of metrical psalters. Instead of a proper tune, the 1558 edition provided the instructions: "Sing this, as the *n*. Psalme." However, they did not assign one or two tunes to cover a dozen or so texts without proper tunes. Compilers carefully chose the texts that would share the same tunes, and Table 1.7 lists these suggestions, including the psalm texts and their prescribed tunes.

Musicologists have ignored the success of this practice, but the following two-pronged analysis will seek to correct that oversight. The first considers if both psalm texts support the pairings, and the second evaluates how well these new tune suggestions deal with the texts' poetic problems. Table 1.7 gives a Juxtaposition category for each psalm pairing, which refers to the way in which the two texts interact with each other.

⁹² Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 31-5; Anne Gilchrist, "Psalm-Versions and French Tunes in the Scottish Psalter of 1564," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935): 209.

Table 1.7: Text-tune pairings in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]

Psalm text	Psalm tune	<i>HTI</i> ID	Juxtaposition Category
2	1	60	1
4	3	94a	1
5	3	94a	1
8	7	66a	2
11	10	61	2
12	7	66a	1
13	6	65	1
17	16	75	2
19	14	113a	2
20	15	74	2
28	14	113a	2
32	29	83	2
34	15	74	1
42	33	89	2
43	14	113a	2
49	44	91a	2
52	41	88	1
63	44	91a	1
82	68	117a	1
123	23	80	2
128	114	102	2
146	103	101a	2

Category 1 conflations use the same melody to highlight a similarity in mood between the psalms. For example, both Psalms 3 and 4 are pleas to the Lord for aid, and both recognise the Lord's sustaining grace for the psalmist. The argument for Psalm 3 says:

“Dauid being persecuted, and driuen out of his kingdome by his own sonne, Absalom...therefore calleth vpon God...against the great terrors of his ennemies...Finally he reioyseth for the good successe, and victorie, that God gaue him...ouer his ennemies.⁹³

While the argument for Psalm 4 instead calls to mind David's persecutions at the hands of Saul, the tone of the psalm is very similar to Psalm 3:

⁹³ STC 16561a, fols. 4^r-4^v.

When Saul persecuted him [David], he called vpon God, trusting moste assuredly in his promesse, and therefore boldely reproueth his ennemies, who by wilfull malice resisted his dominion...⁹⁴

Similarly, Psalms 44 and 63 are both statements of trust in the Lord. While 44 is “A moste earnest prayer made in the name of the faithfull, when they are afflicted by their enemies,”⁹⁵ 63 gives thanks for God’s deliverance and prophecies the destruction of God’s enemies and happiness for His people.⁹⁶

Category 2 juxtapositions, on the other hand, produce a development of events or ideas, and the pairing of Psalms 7 and 8, which was so problematic in the discussion of modal ethos, is the best example of this type. David begins Psalm 7 stating that God is his refuge from those seeking to kill him without cause. Convinced of his innocence, David asks the Lord to punish the wicked.⁹⁷ He then closes with the following statement:

I wil giue thanks to God therfore,
that iudgeth reghteouslie:
And with my song shall praise them
of him that is moste hie.⁹⁸

From this point Psalm 8 continues, “O God our Lord how wonderfull, are thy works euery where?”⁹⁹ The psalmist spends the entire psalm discussing the wonders of creation and marvelling that the Lord would still notice man and allow him to rule over the earth.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the tune joins these two psalms as a single statement of trust in the Lord and praise for His goodness.

Psalms 15 and 20 are another pairing that warrants some discussion. Paired together, these two psalms could be an interesting political exhortation. Psalm 15 declares that “they by liuing vprightlie and Godlie, might witness they they [the Jews]

⁹⁴ Ibid., 5^v.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 47^r.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 57^r.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 9^r.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 10^v.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 11^r.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

were his special and holy people.”¹⁰¹ That person will be good to their neighbour and friend, and they will hate evildoers and honour those who fear the Lord. Despite persecution, that person will persevere in the faith, and they will be upright in all their financial dealings. Compilers juxtaposed this with Psalm 20, which the 1558 *Forme of prayers* introduces:

A prayer of the people vnto God, that it would please him to heare their king, and receiue his sacrifice, which he offred before he went to batell against the Ammonites, declaring how that the heathen put their trust in horses and chariottess but they trust only in the name of the Lorde their God. Wefore the other shall fall, but the Lorde will saue the king and his people.¹⁰²

By calling to mind Psalm 15 while singing Psalm 20, the editors here have implied that the Lord will hear, save, and bless only those who meet the qualifications set forth in Psalm 15. It also infers that the king is under God's Law, just like his people, so he has responsibilities to deal justly with them. In fact, Christopher Goodman, the minister of the Anglo-Genevan church, argued this point in his 1558 tract, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subiects*. He said that a king “be none such as hath great number of horses: meaning, as trusteth in his owne power, and preparation of all thinges, for defence of him selfe, and to ouercome his enemies.”¹⁰³

While it can be difficult to mix and match tunes consistently with texts, compilers of the 1558 *Forme of prayers* were largely successful in dealing with the poetic weaknesses of the texts. Of the outstanding problems listed above in the 1556 edition, the compilers solved a number in the 1558 version. In the 1556 edition, the melody for Psalm 2 verses 1 and 12 further highlighted the poetic problems of the text. The tune from Psalm 1, as suggested for Psalm 2 in the 1558 edition, solves one of these problems. Figure 1.11 reproduces the problematic text with its tune; the issue here

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 19v.

¹⁰² Ibid., 25r.

¹⁰³ My thanks go to Jane Dawson for pointing out this passage in Goodman's writings. Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subiects...* [STC 12020] (Geneva: John Crispin, 1558), 56-7.

was the misplaced poetic accent on the verb ending for the word “seing.” The newly prescribed tune uses the semibreve gathering-note on d followed by a series of minims that are no more than a step apart. Therefore, the rhythm solves the issue of the displaced accent and allows “se-” and “vayne” to receive the most important emphases in the phrase. The melody adds a secondary stress on the word “all” because it is the highest note of the phrase. Altogether, the new tune has improved this verse.

Figure 1.11: Portion of Psalm 2:1 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]

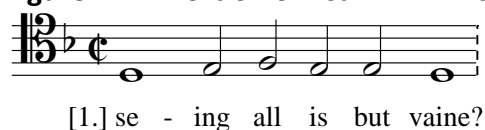


Figure 1.12: Portion of Psalm 32:2 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]



The positive effects on the problematic texts in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* were further enhanced by skilful pairing of tunes with the other texts. There is only one case in which a newly paired tune causes a conflict with its text, and that is for Psalm 32. Figure 1.12 reproduces the third line of verse 2. Without the melody, the iambic metre properly accents the text. However, the tune distorts that emphasis, by stressing the first, third, sixth, and eighth syllables. Therefore, the tune gives the words “which” and “his” undue emphasis. While one could justify the emphasis on the word “which,” the stress on “his” is awkward. If the compiler had wanted to stress whose heart is in question, a better solution would have been to use a semibreve for “his” and another for “hart.” But, the compilers used a tune that employs a minim for “hart,” isolating the word “his.” The tune tempers this rhythmic emphasis because of a skip down from a to e, but it is not enough to overcome the rhythm. Perhaps what makes this problem even

more pronounced is that each of the psalm's stanzas have similar problems with this melody.

Despite a few minor issues, though, the 1558 edition was largely successful in expanding the 1556 *Forme of prayers* while consolidating and strengthening the repertory of psalm tunes. While compilers were unable to provide a proper tune for each psalm text, they chose to pair texts through the same tune in order to highlight an overall mood or specific theological and narrative content. They also chose tunes that were well-suited to their texts. With a few exceptions, the tunes did not overshadow the texts by forcing the poetry into inappropriate accentuation patterns but rather helped the text along when needed.

1.6 Creating Two Psalm Traditions

When Elizabeth I assumed the throne after Mary's death in November 1558, many left the Continent for their homes in England, but several remained in Geneva, including Whittingham. At that time, the Anglo-Genevans had two concurrent major printing projects: a new translation of the Bible, and a complete metrical psalter. While editors finished the Geneva Bible in 1560, they did not complete the Anglo-Genevan metrical psalter. However, there was one final edition, which compilers printed just before returning to England in 1561 as *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacramentes, &c* [STC 16562].¹⁰⁴ This psalter reproduced and expanded the 1558 edition, bringing the total number of metrical texts to 87 including three versions of the "Lord's Prayer," and one version each of the "Ten Commandments" and the "Song of Simeon." It also added 23 new tunes, of which 18 came from the Genevan psalters. Just as the 1558 edition, the 1561 edition thus reaffirmed and strengthened the relationship between the Anglo-Genevan and Genevan psalters in musical content. In addition,

¹⁰⁴ Though this edition was very similar to one printed in 1560 under the same title [STC 16561a.5], it was the final one printed while exiles remained in Geneva. GPSS, 232, 236-7.

there were five new pairings for tune conflations, and Table 1.8 lists these new conflations.

Table 1.8: Text-tune pairings in the 1561 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16562]

Psalm text	Printed Psalm tune	HTI ID	Juxtaposition Category
54	Ten Commandments	111a	Unknown
90	103	101a	1
94	41	88	1
101	37	115	1
107	119	120a	2

There are a few points of interest with this new set of pairings. The Category 1 pairings are straightforward. Both Psalms 90 and 103 are introspective examinations of God's goodness and justice, and both recognise the fragility and brevity of human life. Psalm 90 "prayeth God to turne their [Israel's] heartes and continue his mercies towards them and their posteritie for euer."¹⁰⁵ And, in Psalm 103 "the Prophet doeth prouoke men and Angels, and all creatures to praise the Lord for his fatherlie mercies, and deliuerance of his people from all euils, for his prouidence ouer all things, and the preservation of his faithful."¹⁰⁶ As pleas for justice and deliverance, Psalms 94 and 41 fit nicely together.¹⁰⁷ Finally, Psalm 101 is a microcosm of Psalm 37, as both consider the ways of the wicked and ask for God's judgment on them. Psalm 37 is more passive, concluding "that all things shal be granted according to their [the Godly's] hearts desire, to them that loue & feare God and they that do the contrarie, although they seme to flourish for a time, shal at length perish."¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Psalm 101 is more active,

¹⁰⁵ STC 16561a.5, p. 265.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 278.

¹⁰⁷ See psalm arguments Ibid., 271 and 189.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 188.

as David promises that “He wil punish and correct by rooting out the wicked, and promiseth to cherish the godlie persones.”¹⁰⁹

The other conflations are much more interesting. The first pairing of Psalm 54 with the “Ten Commandments” is the singular example in which textual considerations were overruled in the Anglo-Genevan editions. A short psalm, 54 is split in two sections. The first is a plea for deliverance and vindication, and the second is an acknowledgement the Lord will deliver and repay evil. The Psalm’s argument states,

David broght into great danger by the reason of the Ziphims, calleth vpon the Name of God to destroye his enemies, promising sacrifice, and free offerings for so great deliuerance.¹¹⁰

This does not fit thematically with Whittingham’s version of the “Ten Commandments.” Therefore, the reasoning for this pairing is not altogether clear. Perhaps the answer lies in the music. Short of composing another tune to fit Psalm 54, the only LM tune in the 1561 Psalter was the one for the “Ten Commandments.” Why compilers decided against the five DLM tunes within the psalter is a mystery. After all, the content of these psalms would have produced a suitable pair with Psalm 54.¹¹¹ Perhaps because Psalm 54 is so short, compilers felt that only a LM tune would be suitable.

The pairing of Psalms 107 and 119 is classified as a Category 2 conflation. Psalm 107 praises God for his deeds throughout history, especially how He gathered the Israelites together from distant lands. It recounts how the Lord provided for his people in times of distress, including starvation, slavery, and drought; He also preserved them from dangerous storms while at sea. Psalm 119, however, is different. It is a series of 21 meditations on the Law based on the 21 letters in the Hebrew alphabet. Rather than recounting the origins of the Law, it considers the many blessings that flow from it. Alignment between the moods and main themes of this last

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 276.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 215.

¹¹¹ The DLM psalm tunes in the 1561 Anglo-Genevan Psalter were Psalms 27, 51, 70, 88, and 91.

conflation is not immediately obvious. However, Proverbs 22:6 may offer a potential solution; it states, “Teache a childe in the trade of his way, and when he is olde, he shall not depart from it (Geneva Bible).” This concisely presents the Old Testament belief that parents should train their children according to God’s Law. As the institution of the Passover in Exodus 12 shows, they were also to teach their children about the Lord’s actions throughout history.¹¹² Because of their covenantal theology, parents in Geneva embraced these responsibilities as well. Indeed this may align with the common sentiments in the two psalms’ arguments. For Psalm 107, the Anglo-Genevans argued that it “...exhorteth all those that are redemed by the Lord and gathered vnto him, to giue thanks for this merciful prouidence of God...”¹¹³ In addition, they suggested that “it is mete that all the faithful haue it [Psalm 119] alway bothe in heart, and in mouth.”¹¹⁴ Considering that Anglo-Genevans thought that Christians should continually praise God with these two psalms, compilers may have highlighted this important didactic function of the two psalms by applying the same tune to both.

As the preceding discussion has noted, Anglo-Genevan psalter compilers chiefly concerned themselves with the clear declamation of the texts while seeking to produce metrical versions of all 150 Psalms. While they stopped short of this goal, their texts were undoubtedly understandable as they were sung in church and at home. Compilers did not haphazardly pair tunes with their texts, which inevitably would have resulted in conflicts between the texts and their tunes. Instead, editors exercised great care in pairing both proper tunes and tune suggestions with their texts. Such care is symptomatic of an Anglo-Genevan performance practice that sang the metrical psalms as they were printed in the Anglo-Genevan editions.

¹¹² While these commands were given under the old covenant to the Jews, the Genevan church believed in the extension of that covenant to Christians. So, they would have embraced these commands as well. See “The ordre of Baptisme,” *STC* 16561a, fol. 29^v-33^r.

¹¹³ *STC* 16561a.5, p. 290.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 309.

Both the 1556 and 1558 editions of the *Forme of prayers* probably became well known to English exiles throughout the Continent. Providing tunes with the reportedly improved translations of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts possibly allowed them to gain favour among the other exile communities, slowly replacing the older versions.¹¹⁵ After Elizabeth assumed the throne, these new editions were among the possessions of the exiles as they returned home, and the early English metrical psalters that appeared in 1560 and 1561 serve as evidence of this fact. All of these editions reprinted Whittingham's revisions of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts with their tunes as suggested in the Anglo-Genevan Psalters. That the English met these editions with overwhelming approval also suggests that the Anglo-Genevan psalters were familiar to the English exile communities.

While the 1561 edition followed in the same pattern as its predecessors, it had a mixed reaction in Britain. This followed religious alignments: those who followed the Prayer Book generally preferred the earlier Anglo-Genevan editions, and those who preferred the Genevan worship practice readily accepted the latest Anglo-Genevan edition. Significantly, these preferences also generally followed political boundaries, with the English preferring the earlier versions, and the Scottish the latter.

¹¹⁵ As discussed previously, these revisions were not translated directly out of the Hebrew, as their compilers claim. *RR*, 142-53.

CHAPTER 2: THE RETURN TO ENGLAND AND ENGLISH METRICAL PSALMODY

When Queen Mary died, the exiles began to return to England and Scotland, and they brought with them their psalters. The Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins versions were the most popular, but they had changed during the exile. Despite significant differences from the originals, the new metrical psalms kept the title of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters and regained the popularity they had during the Edwardian years. Public demand for these texts provided an opportunity the printer John Day (c.1521-1584) to augment his income, so he immediately began to supplement the Sternhold and Hopkins texts to produce a complete set of versifications of all 150 psalms in the Book of Psalms. As the latest metrical psalter printed in the English language, the 1558 Anglo-Genvan *Forme of prayers* became the foundation for Day's metrical psalters, and the result of his labours—the 1562 *Whole booke of psalmes* [STC 2430]—would shape English metrical psalters printed through the seventeenth century.

Considering his psalter had such an extended period of influence on English culture, it is important to consider the motives of those involved in Day's complete psalter project. Surprisingly these motives did not always follow purely religious ideals. Nationalism, politics, and business principles factored heavily into Day's psalters as well as religion. This chapter will discuss Day and the development of his complete Sternhold and Hopkins psalter. It will then consider his motives and the motives of other individuals involved in the psalter project. A discussion of how these motives shaped Day's complete psalter both textually and musically concludes the chapter.

2.1 John Day, Printer

A printer and bookseller, Day was born in Dunwich, Suffolk, and probably started working in the printing trade in 1540 under the printer and physician Thomas Raynalde.¹ He became a member of the London Stringers' Company in 1546 and later moved to the parish of St Sepulchre at the sign of the Resurrection, where he formed a partnership with William Seres.² In 1549, he moved to Aldersgate, where he spent most of the rest of his official career.³ Day's imprints were largely Protestant tracts and books, and his were some of the best printings in England during Edward's reign due to the help of foreign workers. This changed during the reign of Mary Tudor. When she re-established the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church, Day moved to one of William Cecil's properties in Barholm, Lincolnshire, so he could continue his printing career. Most probably, Seres introduced Day to Cecil, as Seres was Cecil's servant.⁴ While this connection allowed Day to continue printing Protestant literature for a time during Queen Mary's reign, this connection would prove even more valuable once Elizabeth became Queen. As Queen Elizabeth's most trusted advisor, Cecil probably was one of Day's most influential connections in preserving his business and procuring patents during Elizabeth's reign.⁵ Once settled at Barholm during Mary's reign, however, Day took the pseudonym Michael Wood and printed several works from 1553-56. Based on a much-quoted excerpt from Henry Machyn's diary, the authorities discovered Day's pseudonym and arrested him for printing "noythy bokes" on 16 October 1554.⁶ Though this incident did not change his Protestant beliefs, it did convince him that

¹ Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 6.

² Ibid., 9-12.

³ Elizabeth Evenden, "The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25:2 (Summer 2004), 383-94.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ In addition to Cecil, Day's connections with Robert Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite, and the Earl of Leicester would prove valuable early in Elizabeth's reign. Evenden, *Patents*, 48.

⁶ Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: AMS Press, 1848), 72.

outward conformity was the safest way to continue his career under Mary's rule. He left Cecil's property in 1556 to accept a position as one of John Wayland's printers, where he continued printing and avoided further problems with the law.⁷

After Mary's death, Day quickly began to re-establish himself as a printer of Protestant materials in London. Despite the challenges associated with rebuilding his London-based printing business, the early years of Elizabeth's reign showed Day to be a shrewd printing manager.⁸ To keep a broad clientele, he displayed little bias between the more radical Calvinists and the Prayer Book supporters, and based his printing preferences on what he could sell to his London customers. Since the metrical psalms had been so popular in England during Edward's reign and among exiles on the Continent during Mary's reign, Day saw the metrical psalms as an opportunity for substantial income. However, his former colleague, William Seres, owned the patent for printing the metrical psalms. So great was the opportunity for profit that Day risked violating Seres' patent, printing a small edition of psalms before October 1559. This edition is no longer extant, most likely because Seres defended his patent.⁹ Whether Day intentionally pirated the book or simply miscalculated when he would receive his own patent for which he had already applied, is a matter of speculation.¹⁰ But, on 11 November 1559, Day received the following licence:

...to Imprint or cause to be Imprinted...all suche Bookes, and works, as he hath Imprinted, or hereafter shall Imprinte, being diuised, compiled, or set

⁷ Evenden, "Michael Wood," 393.

⁸ Evenden, *Patents*, 47-67.

⁹ The Stationer's Register notes, "Recevyd of John Daye for a fyne for printinge of serten Copyes without lycense and contrary to the orders of this howse a *quartron of psalmes with notes* the ii^{de} of octobre [1559] xii^s." (emphasis original) *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1875-94), 1:124.

¹⁰ Beth Quitslund suggests Day's *quartron* of psalms was a simple miscalculation of the time it would take to ascertain his patent. *RR*, 199-200. However, Elizabeth Evenden notes that Day also printed a copy of Nostradamus without license. So, printing items in breach of patent or license may have been more common for Day in the early Elizabethan years. Evenden, *Patents*, 48-9.

out by any learned man, at the procurement, costs, & charge, only of the said Iohn Day.¹¹

This ambiguous wording granted Day a foothold in the market for printing a wide variety of materials, to the disadvantage of his fellow stationers.¹² For his immediate purposes, it gave Day the legal right to start printing metrical psalms.

2.2 Day's Metrical Psalters

Between 1560 and 1562, Day produced at least five psalter editions that culminated with his *Whole booke of psalmes*, which included versifications of all 150 psalm texts. For the purposes of the following discussion, these five editions collectively will be called Day's *Whole booke* project. Beth Quitslund's recent study details these editions and their complex lineage,¹³ and understanding this complicated succession is important for discussing Day's editorial process. Therefore, each edition will be briefly introduced, and their impact on his psalter project evaluated before continuing with a discussion of the editors of Day's psalter project.

Day printed the first psalter of this series in 1560, titled *Psalmes of David in Englishe Metre* [STC 2427]. It was an anthology of English publications from the Continent, including several hymns and canticles along with all 62 metrical psalms from the 1558 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* and Whittingham's "Ten Commandments." While Day printed this psalter to meet public demand, he also produced it to mark his territory over Continental worship materials.

Day's second instalment appeared between 1560 and 1561, also titled *Psalmes of David in English Metre* [STC 2429]. This was the first of his psalter editions that included the work of his contemporaries in London. With the sole exception of William

¹¹ In the edition of William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse* from 1559 dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, Day printed this privilege granted him by the Queen. Quoted from Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1903), 21.

¹² Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23.

¹³ *RR*, 197-211.

Kethe's version of Psalm 100, in fact, all the new material came from local writers. The evidence suggests that either Day did not have a copy of the latest Genevan psalm versions including the 1560 and 1561 editions of the *Forme of prayers*, or that he tried to compile a volume that he could sell to his London market. A combination of the two factors probably caused Day to neglect the newest Anglo-Genevan content in the 1560-1 *Psalmes of David*.

This volume also distinguished itself by placing several Scriptural and extra-Scriptural hymns and canticles before and after the metrical psalms, a departure that made it more compatible for use in the national Church as well as the home.¹⁴ Few would doubt the domestic applications for such a volume, but placing a section of hymns before and after the metrical psalms made the edition more compatible with the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁵ However, this reorganisation does not necessarily imply that Day intended the church to use the *entire* volume in worship services. Such intentions could have placed Day and his newly re-established business in jeopardy. By including the extra-liturgical "A form of prayer to be used in private houses, every morning and evening" at the end of the volume, for instance, he was not necessarily encouraging the national church to use it *in toto*. Ever the skilful businessman, however, Day made portions of his psalter compatible with liturgical practice, while ensuring its relevance to devotional practice. However, this former usage allowed him an opportunity to continue expanding his business. As Jonathan Willis recently noted, church records indicate that churches regularly bought copies of the Psalms from Elizabeth's accession in 1558 until 1580, many of which were presumably Day's metrical psalters.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., 203.

¹⁵ Ibid, 228-35; *MEPC*, 1:56; John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: J. Murray, 1915), 859.

¹⁶ Jonathan Willis notes that churches started mentioning the use of metrical psalms immediately after Elizabeth's accession in 1558, and he notes that they regularly purchased

Quitslund argues that the reorganisation also allowed Day to print more radical Genevan texts at the end of his psalter editions.¹⁷ While these publications incorporated some prayers from Geneva, Day was not making any political statements through their inclusion. Mostly, the Genevan prayers were innocuous, as they were based on translations of Scripture. The following excerpt from "A Prayer for the hole state of Christes church" was probably the most ecclesiastically and politically charged text of these Genevan prayers:

...we beseche thee to mainteine and encrease the honorable estate of the Queenes maiestie, and all her most noble counsellors, and maiestates, and all the whole bodye of thys commune weale. Let thy fatherly fauor so preserue them, and thy holy spirit so gouerne their harts, that they may in such sort execute theyr office, that thy religion may be purely maintained, maners reformed, and sin punished accordynge to the precise rule of thy word.¹⁸

Although this prayer might have been a summary of English Calvinists' disagreements with the Elizabethan church, it was also acceptable to a conformist position. After all, the texts ask God to enable the Queen to perform her office in a way that would continue to rid England of Roman Catholics while upholding the doctrinal purity of the English Church.

With these other threads of influence on the publication of the 1560-1 *Psalmes of David*, it is easy to forget the dual purpose of the edition. As its title suggests, the volume was "veri mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuatly for their godly solace and confort."¹⁹ Its musical content may have been suitable for both corporate and private worship, but Day did not intend the prayers to supplant those of the Prayer Book within English churches. Rather, he included them for people to use in personal and family devotions. Therefore, they were no more a political statement by Day than

psalters until about 1580. Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010), 122-8.

¹⁷ *RR*, 203.

¹⁸ *STC* 2430, p. 409.

¹⁹ *STC* 2429.

were most other Genevan publications, including Thomas Norton's 1561 translation of Calvin's *Institutes*, titled *The institution of Christian religion* [STC 4415]. By placing the more generic and well-established canticles before the psalms, and the more experimental ones after the metrical psalms, Day intentionally produced a volume that concurrently promoted the English liturgy and private devotional life.²⁰

Foure score and seuen Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe mitre [STC 2428] was Day's next metrical psalm publication in 1561. As the only edition in which Day printed the entirety of the Anglo-Genevan texts and tunes without addition, Quitslund argues that it was a reprint of the 1561 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16563].²¹ Indeed, the musical evidence supports Quitslund's theory, as the Day's *Foure score* places its musical line breaks in the same places as the 1561 *Forme of prayers*. That is, each stave printed in Day's *Foure score* begins and ends on the same notes as the 1561 *Forme of prayers*.²² While there are some minor pitch differences between the two editions,²³ they are probably simply printer errors considering the typographical similarity between the two volumes.

Despite the congruence between *Foure score* and the *Forme of prayers*, Day engineered his volume to avoid a potential conflict with the authorities, just as he had done with his 1560-1 *Psalmes of Dauid*. The physical volume that Day used as a template for *Foure score* probably included the Anglo-Genevan liturgy as well as the metrical psalter. Therefore, his decision to omit its liturgical portions was critical in preserving his business, reputation, and favour with those in Elizabeth's counsel.²⁴ If he had included the Anglo-Genevan liturgy, Day could have been disciplined for breaking

²⁰ *RR*, 228-35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 206-7.

²² The volume housed at St Paul's Cathedral, London reveals this correlation. *STC* 16563.

²³ For instance, in Psalm 15, Day's version prints a *finalis* on a¹, rather than g in the *Forme of prayers*. Another example is found in Psalm 42, where the word "for" in the phrase, "which shal for..." appears with an f rather than g.

²⁴ At this time, Day's most influential connections included William Cecil, Robert Dudley, and Matthew Parker. See note 5.

the provisions of the 1559 Act of Uniformity. Instead, he ensured the volume would remain a devotional book rather than a liturgical one.

If Day's purposes for printing any of his editions between 1560 and 1562 were unclear, a licence he secured in 1561 outlines his intents. The Stationers' Register notes that four pence was "Received of John Day for his license for printing of the Residue of the psalms not here to fore printed So that this maketh up the whole."²⁵ While the first portion of the licence would allow Day to start compiling yet another psalter edition, the latter portion was just as important. It proves that Day intended to hold the patent for all metrical psalms so he could print a "whole" edition. The decision to print this latest Anglo-Genevan edition thus falls in line with that of his 1560 *Psalmes of David*. As the first to reprint the latest English metrical psalms from Geneva, Day exercised his patent on those items that he "hereafter shall imprinte" and preserved his copyright over all English metrical psalm versions within the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition.²⁶

As mentioned above, this latest licence from the Stationers Company allowed Day to print yet another psalter, *The residue of all Davids Psalms in metre* [STC 2429.5]. It is unclear whether he printed this or *The Whole booke of Psalmes* [STC 2430] first, but the *Residue* sought to balance the 1561 *Foure score* with the latest metrical psalm paraphrases from London. It included 77 metrical psalms, of which all but nine come from the London-based Hopkins, Norton and John Marckant. It is mysterious why Day included these nine other metrical versions since he had also printed them in *Foure score*. Perhaps he added them to make the volume more attractive to his pro-Genevan customers.

Day's psalter project ended with the 1562 publication of the *Whole booke of Psalmes*. The edition included the entire metrical psalter and an expanded selection of

²⁵ *Stationers' Registers*, 1:182.

²⁶ *RR*, 207.

prayers, hymns, and canticles. The *Residue* provided the textual foundation for the *Whole booke*, and *Foure score* filled the remaining gaps. Such prioritisations suggest there was a bias towards Day's editions over the Anglo-Genevan ones and towards London writers over Genevan ones.

lists the distribution of textual authorship, showing this bias. Of the texts in the *Whole booke* Hopkins wrote at least 58 versifications,²⁷ and all but 25 of its 151 psalm texts came from Sternhold, Hopkins, or Norton. Based on this evidence, Day probably had discussions with Hopkins and Norton in 1560 about the psalter project. The results of these early conversations led Hopkins and Norton to versify the outstanding psalm texts from the 1558 *Forme of prayers*, despite the continuing work of Kethe and others in Geneva.

Table 2.1: Distribution of psalms among the versifiers of the Anglo-Genevan and Day editions

	<i>Forme of prayers, 1558</i>	<i>Psalmes of Daud, 1560</i>	<i>Psalmes of Daud, 1560-1</i>	<i>Foure score, 1561</i>	<i>Residue, 1562</i>	<i>Whole booke, 1562</i>
Hopkins	7	7	20	7	38	58
Kethe	0	0	1	25	9	9
Marckant	0	0	0	0	4	4
Norton	0	0	4	0	26	31
Poullain	2	2	2	2	0	1
Sternhold	37	37	37	37	0	37
Whittingham	16	16	14	16	0	11
Wisdom	0	2	1	0	0	0
Anonymous	0	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	62	65	79	87	77	151 ²⁸

In addition to its textual independence, the *Whole booke* established a musical freedom from its Anglo-Genevan and Genevan predecessors, printing only 63 tunes for its 172 texts. While the *HTI* lists 65 tunes, three are potentially duplicates. First, the

²⁷ Quitslund's analysis places serious doubt on whether Sternhold and Hopkins versified a number of psalms. See *RR*, 293-7.

²⁸ The *Whole booke* included both Whittingham and Norton's versifications of Psalm 51.

Whole booke printed the same tune for both the Lord's Prayer (Our Father, which in heaven art) and Ps. 112. Day also printed the same tune for both Psalms 77 and 81, but Temperley suggests that rhythmic differences between the two versions make them different tunes.²⁹ Since later psalters do not preserve these rhythmic distinctions, it is difficult to agree that English people considered them as different tunes.³⁰ Finally, the tune from Psalm 35 uses the first five lines of the tune for the "Humble Suit of a Sinner" and changes the final three. However, these significant changes at the end of the tune make it considerably different from the "Humble suit." Therefore, 63 seems a more accurate count of the unique tunes in the *Whole booke*. Whichever number one uses, the ratio of tunes to texts in the *Whole booke* was considerably less than the 1561 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* and more in line with the 1558 edition. This arguably allowed people to sing the *Whole booke* texts more readily than the *Forme of prayers* texts because there were fewer tunes to learn.

While the *Whole booke* deviated from the Anglo-Genevan and Genevan psalters in the number of tunes it printed, it does not display an intentional bias against the Anglo-Genevan and Genevan tunes. Comparing the tunes printed in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* and Day's 1562 *Whole booke* confirms that the *Whole booke* treated Anglo-Genevan and French Genevan tunes equally (Table 2.2). Though the *Whole booke* did not print 24 tunes from the 1558 *Forme of prayers*, metrical differences necessitated five of these, which Table 2.2 lists below the double line. Ignoring these five tunes, the *Whole book* dropped only one more tune from the 1558 *Forme of prayers* than it kept. Even more interestingly, the *Whole booke* showed little bias against the Genevan tunes. Since the *Whole booke* kept tunes from both the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan editions, these tunes were probably the most popular among the exiles when they returned to

²⁹ See *MEPC*, 1:58-9.

³⁰ See Chapter 4, pp. 160-77.

England. Some of these tunes will be closely examined later in the chapter to discover if some inherent musical quality made them more popular.

Table 2.2: Tune comparison between the 1558 *Forme of prayers* and the 1562 *Whole booke*

Retained tunes		Dropped tunes	
Tune	Original Source	Tune	Original Source
Ps. 3	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 1	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 6	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 7	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 14	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [Ps. 8]	Ps. 9	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 25	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> *	Ps. 10	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [Ps. 2]
Ps. 30	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 15	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 41	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 16	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 44	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 21	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 51	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 23	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 68	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> *	Ps. 29	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 103	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 33	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [Ps. 42]
Ps. 119	1535 <i>Goostly psalmes</i> [Creed]	Ps. 37	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 120	1547 <i>Cinquante pseumes</i> [Ps. 107]	Ps. 73	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 121	1551 <i>Pseaumes octantetrois</i>	Ps. 78	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 124	1551 <i>Pseaumes octantetrois</i>	Ps. 79	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> *
Ps. 130	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 114	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 137	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 115	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
Ps. 148	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 127	1551 <i>Pseaumes octantetrois</i>
Decalogue	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>	Ps. 129	1551 <i>Pseaumes octantetrois</i>
		Ps. 133	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
		Ps. 50	1547 <i>Cinquante pseumes</i> [Ps. 1]
		Ps. 67	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
		Ps. 71	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> *
		Ps. 149	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i>
		Nunc Dimittis	1547 <i>Le premier livre des pseumes</i>

* Tune may have been based on a Geneva tune. See Chapter 1.

The two years it took Day to complete the *Whole booke* does not reflect the precision and editorial accuracy that one would expect to find after such an extended period of time and after so many previous editions. Rather, the quantity of errors suggests that it was rushed through the press. Various scholars have commented on the many textual mistakes in the *Whole booke*, which include printing a significant portion of Psalm 109 in the middle of Psalm 115. However, its musical problems deserve attention as well. Just as any publication of that time, there are several

misprints including missing and displaced notes, and incorrect note lengths. While these details, including their provenance and transmission, could provide much fruitful discussion, the present analysis will focus on the broader issues that provide evidence of the rushed timetable for printing the *Whole booke*.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the metrical psalters in the Genevan tradition sought to provide a unique tune for each psalm, but Anglo-Genevan tune composition could not keep up with psalm versification. Therefore, printers had to suggest multiple texts for each tune. Rather than reprint the same tune multiple times, Genevan printers would simply print a recommendation for which tune to use. Though it selected fewer tunes than the Anglo-Genevan editions, Day's psalter followed this tradition of printing a proper tune or suggesting a tune for each text. In the *Whole booke*, however, there were 11 exceptions for which neither a suggestion nor a tune appeared.³¹ Since each of these texts was a new versification in the 1562 editions,³² this musical oversight implies which of the texts Day may have received last. Since Norton versified nine of the 11 texts without tunes or tune suggestions, he probably had more to do in the final stages of Day's *Whole booke* project. More importantly, however, these omissions were symptomatic of a volume printed without careful editorial supervision and were not indications of deviation in common practice (for instance, they do not indicate that these particular texts were not to be sung).

That aside, these oversights raise the question of why Day rushed the *Whole booke*. One possible motive is that Day needed to print the edition as soon as possible because of political and ecclesiastical pressure since Calvin also finished his metrical psalter in 1562. Many former Genevan exiles continued to communicate with those in the city, so people in England probably anticipated Calvin's psalter in 1561-2. Although not a Genevan exile, Norton frequently wrote to Calvin, whom he knew through his

³¹ These are psalms 91, 92, 115, 129, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 149, and 150. See Appendix B.

³² This includes both the *Whole booke* and the *Residue*.

contacts with the Duke of Somerset and his family.³³ Therefore, perhaps Day—undoubtedly aware that Calvin’s psalter was nearing completion—felt pressure to complete his edition either before or shortly after Calvin’s. After all, the *Whole booke*, while recognising the Genevan psalters’ influence, sought to establish English metrical psalmody as a rival to that of Geneva. Such an emphasis would have appealed to those like Norton, who later sought to defend the English national church from more “extreme” religious views including Roman Catholicism and Puritanism.³⁴

Table 2.3: Printing Estimates for the *Acts and Monuments* and the *Whole booke**

No. of Presses	Publication	Estimated Printing Duration	Latest Possible Start Date
3	Book of Martyrs	52 weeks (1 year)	March 1563
	<i>Whole booke</i>	13 weeks (3 months)	September 1562†
	<i>Residue</i>	11 weeks (3 months)	
2	Book of Martyrs	78 weeks (1 year, 6 months)	September 1562
	<i>Whole booke</i>	20 weeks (5 months)	January 1562†
	<i>Residue</i>	16 weeks (4 months)	

* Based on Pettegree’s estimates, these figures assume a daily output of 1,263 pages per press.

† The date estimates for the *Whole booke* and *Residue* are grouped together.

The most probable reason that Day rushed the *Whole booke*, however, was his commitments to print other lucrative projects, particularly John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* [STCs 11222 and 11222a].³⁵ Finished on 20 March 1564,³⁶ Andrew Pettegree suggests the work would have occupied three of Day’s presses for at least 12 months.³⁷ Given such a timeline, work would have had to begin on Foxe’s book before March 1563 by the modern calendar (Table 2.3). Using Pettegree’s figures, it would

³³ Michael A.R. Graves, *Thomas Norton, the Parliament Man* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 24-6.

³⁴ The record of Norton’s work in parliament suggests that he was violently loyal to Elizabeth and her church, despite his personal preferences. He believed that while the national church may have been imperfect, only a unified church would defeat the continuing Catholic threat. Graves, *Norton*, 279-336.

³⁵ Evenden has discussed that Day often operated on a tight printing schedule. Evenden, *Patents*, 66, 71-5.

³⁶ The *Acts and Monuments* lists 20 March 1563 as the publication date, but this is according to the old English calendar. For the purposes of clarity, modern dating has been used.

³⁷ Andrew Pettegree, "Day, John (1521/2–1584)," *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7367.

have taken Day's three presses just under three months to complete a similar run of 1,250 copies of the *Whole booke*. On top of that, Day printed the *Residue* in 1562, and Leaver suggests it had a significant run as well.³⁸ Therefore, Day must have begun work on the *Whole booke* and *Residue* by the end of September 1562.

These estimates assume that Day owned and used three presses between 1562 and 1563, but he may have had fewer presses. With one press, the *Acts and Monuments* alone would have taken over three years to print, so Day must have used more than one. But, he could have used just two presses, since the *STC* recognises only two other works from Day's presses in 1562. The first of these, *The first and second examination of Thomas Haukes, before Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London* [STC 12955a.5], lacks a title page and colophon, so the *STC*'s dating is an estimate. The other Day publication from 1562, *27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer...* [STC 15276], was a smaller publication that probably did not have a significant printing run, just like *The first and second examination*. Had Day printed more in 1562, he would have needed to use three presses throughout the year. Instead his output suggests he only had two presses working from 1562-3. With that number, the *Acts and Monuments* would have taken 18 months to complete and the *Whole booke* and *Residue* would have taken nine months. Foxe's comments seemingly confirm this conclusion. Writing in the preface of the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe noted, "we had scarce 18 months" to print the book.³⁹ What is more, the evidence suggests that Foxe may have been resident in Day's house as early as August 1562.⁴⁰ With a resident author, Day must have felt the pressure to finish the *Whole booke* as soon as possible. These factors suggest that Day must have begun

³⁸ Leaver suggests that since there were at least three reissues of *Four score*, that this must have been the case. *GPSS*, 252.

³⁹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of the latter and perilous dayes...* [STC 11222] (London: Iohn Day, [1564]); Quoted in Evenden, *Patents*, 64.

⁴⁰ Evenden, *Patents*, 64.

printing the *Whole booke* and *Residue* by January 1562, which also would have allowed him time to squeeze in the other two works.

2.3 The Editors of the *Whole booke* Project

Day's *Whole booke* sought to cater to the wide variety of religious and musical interests found in London, separating itself from its Anglo-Genevan predecessors in the process. While Day did not base printing decisions on anti-Genevan sentiments, it is unclear whether this bias might have influenced others involved in the project.⁴¹ It would be helpful to know the identities of the editors of the *Whole booke* for this reason, but they remain unknown. Several names have been suggested as potential candidates, including Day, Hopkins, and William Whittingham.

Nicholas Temperley argued that Day was the sole editor of the *Whole booke* project.⁴² Quitslund agrees with him, extending the argument by noting that the *Whole booke* contains numerous mistakes. She writes:

...there is little evidence that anyone besides Day was significantly involved in compiling the texts, so there was no author hovering over the proofs. Hopkins probably had a role in editing the psalms themselves, although it was restricted to the new compositions; there are no changes to any of the arguments or psalm paraphrases that were imported from the Genevan 1558 edition, including Whittingham's revisions of Hopkins' own Edwardian psalms.⁴³

The evidence suggests Day's probable involvement in the editorial process. As indicated above, profitability motivated him, and his choices to use versifications by local writers and to limit metrical and musical complexity display this.

Day's bias towards London-based authors in the *Whole booke* reflected his understanding of his London customers. Londoners would have favoured versions by the famous Hopkins or the emerging Norton over those by the little-known and more

⁴¹ *RR*, 212.

⁴² Though he is convinced Day was the sole editor, Temperley acknowledges that there is no evidence for the assertion. *MEPC*, 1:58.

⁴³ *RR*, 210.

radical Kethe and Whittingham. Hopkins had already secured himself as an English metrical psalm versifier during Edward's reign.⁴⁴ Norton's reputation as a poet was rising in London due to his contributions to *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557 and his co-authorship of *Gorboduc* in 1560.⁴⁵ In contrast, Kethe was a well-respected scholar, but he was Scottish and continued to work in Geneva. Deeply involved in the troubles at Frankfurt, Whittingham had many in England questioning his loyalty due to his close friendship with John Knox, who many in England considered a radical reformer.⁴⁶ Therefore, Day had the choice of associating the result of his labours with either two well-respected, London-based poets or two potentially more radical and subversive poets. Perhaps then this was a political decision only in the sense that editorial preferences for authors reflected the political and personal biases of Day's consumers.

Day also had a fine understanding of the musical abilities of his clientele. The *Whole booke* was chiefly a devotional book, and its success relied on its accessibility to people with a wide range of aptitudes and financial means. A simplified musical repertoire was one method the *Whole booke* used to appeal to such a wide audience. While a complete metrical version of the psalter was important, providing unique tunes for each of those psalms was clearly not a high priority. In fact, the evidence suggests that the Day psalters sought to minimise musical content while preserving musical diversity. As noted earlier, it included 63 tunes for its 172 psalm and hymn texts,⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁴⁵ These are the common names for both works. Their full titles are: *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and others* [STC 13862] and *The tragedie of Gorboduc* [STC 18684], respectively.

⁴⁶ For his part, Knox was perhaps unfairly ostracised in England due to his infamous publication of *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Unfortunately, as Jane Dawson noted, his clumsy efforts to apologise to Elizabeth were ineffective. Jane E.A. Dawson, "Knox, Goodman and the 'Example of Geneva'," in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, ed. Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 108.

⁴⁷ The *Whole booke* prints 151 psalm texts, including a duplicate version for Psalm 51, and 21 hymns, canticles, and metrical prayers. See Appendix B.

whereas the last Anglo-Genevan version included 63 tunes for its 90 texts.⁴⁸ The increased number of texts for each tune in the *Whole booke* suggests that Day wanted to keep printing costs down. In doing so, he could drastically reduce the volume's cost to his customers. Apart from these business concerns, the musical simplification also made the *Whole booke* more inherently performable than the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan psalters. By limiting the number of tunes that people needed to learn, the *Whole booke* tunes became templates that people could sing with several psalm texts. Day's influence on the *Whole booke* made its metrical texts more immediately accessible to people through a much more succinct group of simple tunes.

Day spread these tunes through the *Whole booke*, making it even more user-friendly. In fact, it commonly suggested tunes that were close to each text. For example it suggested that people sing Psalms 5, 7-13, and 15 to the tune from Psalm 3. Similarly, Psalms 32-34 employed the tune from Psalm 30. While one could focus mainly on how non-literate people learned these tunes, such groupings show that the *Whole booke* was a practical tool for the literate. Readers and singers rarely had to flip between a text and tune that were 50 or more pages away, thus promoting ease of use.

While Day's more practical influences on the *Whole booke* are readily observable, other individuals probably joined in the editorial process as well. Day did not have any musical training, and he had little-to-no experience with printing music.⁴⁹ The 1560 version of the *Psalmes of David in Englishe Metre* [STC 2427] is the earliest extant publication containing music from Day's presses, but he probably began printing music in 1559. The "quartron of psalms" for which Seres brought suit against Day for

⁴⁸ STC 16563.

⁴⁹ The only musical publications issued by either Day or Seres printed before 1560, came from Seres in 1553 with Christopher Tye's *Acts of the Apostles* [STC 2985] and Francis Seager's *Certayne Psalmes select out of Psalter of David* [STC 2728]. By this time, though, the two men had dissolved their partnership, meaning Day would not have had any involvement with either work. D.W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1570* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 11.

breach of printing licence in 1559 may have been Day's first attempt at printing music.⁵⁰ Lacking musical knowledge, Day probably needed the help of a music editor, no matter how little editing may have actually occurred. Elizabeth Evenden suggests that Thomas Causton, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and composer of *Certaine notes* [STC 6418], may have served as Day's music editor.⁵¹ Though based on circumstantial evidence, her theory is plausible, but the number of musical errors in the *Whole booke* suggests that only a minimal amount of musical editing took place. In addition to Causton, one of Day's workers from the Continent may have had musical training and experience printing music, but this is difficult to verify based on surviving records.⁵² Thus, Causton or another of Day's employees may have acted as a musical editor, but it was shabbily done probably because of Day's time constraints.

There is also little decisive evidence corroborating any textual editors other than Day, but Whittingham has been suggested as a possible co-editor. Based on his work on the 1556 and 1558 editions of the *Forme of prayers*, he would have had the necessary musical knowledge. His experience on these psalters and the Geneva Bible would also have given him an intimate knowledge of the Psalm texts.⁵³ However, Whittingham is not a probable candidate as a co-editor, since the *Whole booke* excludes so many Genevan texts and tunes.

A second person deserving consideration is Thomas Norton, but few have recognised him as a potential editor. Thus, an introduction to Norton and his ties to Day are necessary to establish him as a candidate. Born in London in 1532, Norton graduated from Cambridge and began his political career as secretary to Protector

⁵⁰ Krummel, *Music Printing*, 14; See also notes 9 and 10.

⁵¹ Evenden suggests that Causton may have acted as Day's music editor from 1560, when work on the *Certaine notes* began until Causton's death in 1569. Evenden, *Patents*, 75-8.

⁵² Day's use of workers from the Continent is discussed in Ibid., 95-96; C.L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1979), 14-15, 33-8.

⁵³ Most recently, Seymour Baker House proposed this theory. Seymour Baker House, "Contributors to the metrical psalter of 1562 (act. c. 1549-1562)," in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/96707>.

Somerset during Edward's reign. He later married Archbishop Cranmer's daughter, Margery, and served in parliament as the M.P. for Gatton. Besides his high political status, Norton was a scholar and poet, publishing several sonnets and co-authoring England's first free-verse tragedy, *Gorboduc*.

Although it is difficult to confirm when the two men met,⁵⁴ Norton's professional associations with Day began around 1560 when Day printed Norton's first scholarly publication, *Orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip the trecherous kyng of Macedone* [STC 785].⁵⁵ As mentioned earlier, Norton also translated Calvin's *Institutes* in 1561. Such a broad range of printed materials suggests that Norton had many gifts in translation, theology, and poetry.⁵⁶ In addition to his literary achievements, Norton's political connections to Cecil and several members of parliament must have made him an attractive choice as a co-editor for Day's psalters.

The textual evidence from the *Whole booke* suggests that Norton had some control over which psalms he versified. As mentioned earlier, Hopkins added several versifications, but they mainly appear in the first 100 psalms. He probably chose to provide psalm versifications for the missing texts from the 1558 *Forme of prayers*, through Psalm 100. Norton, however, may have chosen not only to work on the final 50 psalms, but on the handful of texts outside the final 50 psalms that interested him. Quitslund has revealed that Norton probably paraphrased Psalms 18, 22, 23, 24 and 51 in addition to the outstanding psalms from 100-150.⁵⁷ Such deviations from an otherwise normal versification pattern suggest that either Norton had already

⁵⁴ A brief examination of the common acquaintances of both men reveals several possible points of introduction, including William Cecil, Edward Whitchurch, Richard Grafton, Thomas Becon, and Robert Dudley. Graves, *Norton*, 13-46.

⁵⁵ The STC estimates that *Orations* was printed in 1560. STC 785.

⁵⁶ Norton completed the first English translation of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* [STC 4415] in 1561.

⁵⁷ As an appendix, Quitslund discussed the misattributions of psalms especially in the English psalters. Of principal interest are those Sternhold versions that mysteriously appear for the first time in the 1561 *Foure score and seuen psalmes*. RR, 218-19, 293-7.

completed these versifications before choosing the other texts, or that he had a large amount of editorial control. The first alternative is possible since it was still common practice for aspiring poets and Latin translators to sharpen their skills by versifying the Psalms.⁵⁸ However, the latter alternative is just as possible. At this time Norton was co-authoring *Gorboduc* with Thomas Sackville as well as translating Calvin's *Institutes*. Since he provided only five paraphrases for the 1560-1 *Psalmes of David in English Metre* it is probable that these other projects were more important and consumed most of his time.⁵⁹ Once he completed these other projects, he turned his attention to Day's metrical psalter, as the rest of his metrical psalm versifications appeared in 1562. But his inclusion in the 1560-1 *Psalmes of David* suggests that Day involved him in the project from the start, not that Day added Norton late in the process.

In addition to Norton, Hopkins is a probable candidate as co-editor of the *Whole booke*. First, there would have been no clearer choice than the person who first added to Sternhold's metrical versions. Beyond this speculation, the textual evidence suggests his involvement. Hopkins' psalm versions account for over a third of the psalter (Table 2.1). While these new versions simply filled the gaps left by previous editions, it is difficult to overlook such a significant number of texts by one author. Even more convincingly, Quitslund notes that Hopkins edited many of the arguments that appear before each psalm.⁶⁰

Most likely then, Hopkins, Norton, and Day edited the *Whole booke*, with the help of Causton or some other music editor. While Day wanted the publication to be marketable in his bookshops, other potential motives deserve attention because of the influence of Hopkins and Norton. Day's goal of creating a more marketable psalter by

⁵⁸ See above, p. 17. From his work on *Gorboduc* as a poet and on Calvin's *Institutes* as a Latin translator, both of these would have applied to Norton.

⁵⁹ Based on textual evidence, Quitslund argues these five psalms were misattributed to Sternhold and Hopkins. *RR*, 293-7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 215-16.

choosing to employ both Hopkins and Norton as versifiers had another effect on the *Whole booke*: the metres employed in the volume.

Table 2.4: Metres of psalm versifications in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

Metre	Number of texts
CM (8.6.8.6. Iambic)	133
LM (8.8.8.8. Iambic)	2
SM (6.6.8.6. Iambic)	4
10.10.10.10.11.11. Iambic	1
10.10.11.11. Anapaestic	1
6.6.6.6.6.6. Iambic	1
8.8.8.8.8.8. Iambic	3
10.10.10.10.10. Iambic	1
8.8.8.8.6.6. Iambic	1
12.12.12.12.10.10. Iambic	1
7.6.7.6. Iambic	1
6.6.6.6. 4.4.4.4. Iambic	2

The Anglo-Genevan psalters followed the philosophy of the Genevan psalters, employing various metres with the goal of having a unique metre and tune for each text. To their detriment, the Anglo-Genevan versifiers sometimes tried to fit English verse into French poetic forms.⁶¹ On the other hand, the *Whole booke* used only twelve metres, almost exclusively with iambic feet (Table 2.4). The only variation was Psalm 104, a 10.10.11.11. anapaestic paraphrase by Kethe. This was a reinforcement of earlier models in English metrical psalmody. As established by Sternhold, Hopkins, and Robert Crowley, English metrical psalm paraphrasts preferred to use CM, SM, and LM. However, Quitslund notes, “Their choice of meter is probably less an active rejection of Continental models than a self-conscious embrace of one that they associated with both biblical versifications generally and with literary Protestant zeal before it was interrupted by Mary’s accession.”⁶² Whether it was a conscious rejection of Continental

⁶¹ See, for example, the discussion of Whittingham’s “Ten Commandments,” Chapter 1, p. 33.

⁶² *RR*, 213.

style or reinforcement of English practice, the fact remains that versifiers favoured traditional English metres over Continental ones. Through their connections with Day and his continuing psalter project, Hopkins and Norton were aware of the widely varying metres used by both the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan paraphrasts. However, Day or some other editor probably did not order Hopkins and Norton to write their paraphrases within Sternhold's CM. More probably, each author made a conscious decision to continue in that tradition, rejecting the latest metres coming from Geneva. Thus, the metrical variations between the *Whole booke* and its Anglo-Genevan predecessors were a natural result of the authors chosen to complete the psalter.

In addition to choosing more familiar versifiers, Hopkins and Norton's preference towards Sternhold's metre would have made the *Whole booke* more immediately familiar to English customers, especially those who had known Sternhold and Hopkins' Edwardian publications. This familiar style combined with the sole addition of the "Gloria Patri" at the end of Norton's versification of Psalm 75 perhaps made the *Whole booke* better suited for use in English homes as well as the national church than the Anglo-Genevan psalters. When Day first began printing metrical psalters in 1559, the latest Anglo-Genevan edition he probably had in hand was the 1558 *Forme of prayers*. Using this as his foundation, Day employed versifiers whose reputations, sources, and poetic styles would appeal to his customers. That these preferences could be construed as political or theological is more a result of *ex post facto* analysis than a reflection of Day's preferences, which instead were merely good business decisions.⁶³

⁶³ Despite this, Day was nonetheless committed to Protestantism. As Elizabeth Evenden has argued, Day also sacrificed profit at times in order to promote Protestantism in England. Evenden, *Patents*, 146.

2.4 Music of the *Whole booke*

Considering the metrical changes in the *Whole booke*, it would be easy to argue that its tune repertory was stylistically more compatible to England than the Genevan tunes. At first glance, this theory seems reasonable. Of the 63 tunes in the *Whole booke*, only 27 came from the Anglo-Genevan psalters. Thus, there were many suitable tunes available to English compilers at the time, but they chose to remove 38 Anglo-Genevan tunes and to add another 38 tunes, though not necessarily in direct substitution. While the *Whole booke* contained the same number of tunes as the 1561 *Foure score*, the decision to use only 63 tunes for its 151 psalm texts and 21 canticles—especially considering there were a significant number of additional tunes available—suggests a different approach than the Anglo-Genevan versions. When trying to find a possible motive for limiting the number of tunes, it helps to break the tunes down into three categories. The first contains the Anglo-Genevan tunes accepted by the *Whole booke*. Second are the tunes introduced in the Day psalters, and the final category includes those omitted or replaced by the *Whole booke*.

***Whole booke* Tunes from Anglo-Genevan Editions**

The first category (first column, Table 2.5), those tunes from the 1561 *Foure score* that the 1562 *Whole booke* used, contains ten tunes that originated in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. Their continued use suggests that these tunes became popular in England, just as they had been on the Continent.⁶⁴ All three of the Penitential Psalms from the Anglo-Genevan editions—Psalms 6, 51, and 130—kept their tunes in the *Whole booke*,⁶⁵ as well as Psalms 103 and 137 and Whittingham's "Ten Commandments." This first category also includes four tunes that first appeared in the

⁶⁴ The *Whole booke* set these tunes to Psalms 3, 6, 30, 41, 44, 51, 103, 130, and 137, as well as the Ten Commandments. See Appendix B.

⁶⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, these would have had special significance.

1558 and 1561 editions of the *Forme of prayers*.⁶⁶ Just as with the tunes originating in the 1556 edition, these tunes probably became popular in England after the exiles returned.

Table 2.5: Tunes in the 1562 *Whole booke* compared with the 1561 *Foure score*

<i>Foure score</i> Tunes Used	Tunes introduced in Day's editions	<i>Foure score</i> Tunes Rejected
Psalms 3 (62a), 6 (65), 14 (113a), 25 (114), 30 (84b), 41 (88), 44 (91a), 51 (93a), 68 (117a), 103 (101a), 104 (144a), 111 (145a), 112 (130a), 113 (146a), 119 (120a), 120 (121), 121 (122a), 122 (147a), 124 (123a), 125 (148a), 126 (149a), 130 (107a), 134 (150a), 137 (109a), and 148 (126a); Lord's Prayer (130a), Ten Commandments (111a)	Psalms 1 (158a)*, 18 (159a), 21 (79)*, 35 (170b), 46 (171), 50 (172)*, 52 (161a), 59 (173), 61 (174a), 69 (162a), 72 (163a), 78 (164a), 77 and 81 (175a), 88 (176a), 95 (177), 132 (178a), 135 (179a), 136 (180a), 141 (181), 145 (182), and 147 (183a); Benedicite (169a), Benedictus (128a), Complaint of a Sinner (153a), Creed (129), da Pacem Domine (154a), Humble Suit of a Sinner (170a), Lamentation (184a), Lamentation of a Sinner (155), Lord's Prayer (156)*, Magnificat (131a), Preserve Us (157a), Quicunque Vult (165), Te Deum (166a), Ten Commandments (167a), Venite Creator (168a), Nunc Dimittis (77a)	Psalms 1 (60), 7 (66a), 9 (68), 10 (61), 15 (74), 16 (75), 21 (79), 23 (80), 27 (135a), 29 (83), 33 (89), 36 (136a), 37 (115), 47 (137), 50 (116a), 58 (138a), 62 (139), 67 (132), 70 (140), 71 (118), 73 (97), 78 (98a), 79 (119), 85 (141), 88 (134a), 91 (142a), 100 (143a), 114 (102), 115 (103), 127 (124a), 129 (125), 133 (108), 138 (151), 142 (152), and 149 (127); Lord's Prayer (143a), Lord's Prayer (134a), Nunc Dimittis (112a)

* Tune replaced an Anglo-Genevan tune used for that particular text.

** Numbers in parenthesis refer to the *HTI* number for a particular tune.

Both the Anglo-Genevans and the editors of Day's *Whole booke* included a reference to Edwardian metrical psalmody. As discussed in Chapter 1, the tune from Coverdale's "Creed" in his *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* originated in Germany and probably became popular in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.⁶⁷ Since it remained popular with the Anglo-Genevans after they adapted it for Psalm 119 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers*, the *Whole booke* compilers probably did not hesitate to include this originally German tune.

⁶⁶ The tunes for Psalms 14, 68, and 148 originated in the 1558 edition, and the tune for Whittingham's "Lord's Prayer" came from the 1561 edition. Appendix B.

⁶⁷ See Introduction, pp. 13-14.

In addition to the tune from Psalm 119, the *Whole booke* did not display any obvious discrimination against other foreign tunes. It included two more tunes from German sources, including the tunes from Psalms 112, 113, and Cox's "Lord's Prayer."⁶⁸ An additional ten tunes originated in Calvin's Genevan psalter editions.⁶⁹ Such a reliance upon foreign tune sources shows that while the *Whole booke* editors preferred tunes that had originated in English sources, they did not go out of their way to exclude tunes from other countries. Since each of these tunes had appeared in a previous Day or Anglo-Genevan edition, it is arguable the tunes had become domesticated by the time they appeared in the *Whole booke*. However, it reinforces the idea that tunes were not excluded simply because of their origins. Compilers of the *Whole booke* chose their tunes to ease performance practice rather than to promote religious or political ideology. In these cases, they retained the original text-tune pairings because those tunes were probably already familiar to a large portion of the English populace through repetition in performance. Similar to Anglo-Genevan psalm texts, then, Genevan and Anglo-Genevan psalm tunes were not excluded from the *Whole booke* simply because of their origin.

***Whole booke* Tunes Originating in the Day Editions**

The second category of tunes in the *Whole booke* comprises the tunes that probably originated in the Day metrical psalters (second column, Table 2.5). Similar to the other tunes in the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition of metrical psalters, their composers are unknown. In addition to these new tunes, the *Whole booke* printed 67 new psalm versifications, and each proper tune printed with these new texts belongs to this second category of tunes. This suggests that composers wrote these proper tunes

⁶⁸ Psalm 112 used the same tune as Richard Cox's "Lord's Prayer," both of which used the tune from "Vater unser im Himmelreich" in Schumann's *Geistliche lieder* of 1539. The tune from Psalm 113 originally appeared in the 1526 German Psalter, and Calvin adapted it for Psalm 36 in his 1539 Psalter. "Tunes: 125 and 180," *Frost*.

⁶⁹ These were the *Whole booke* tunes for Psalms 25, 104, 111, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, and 134.

with these particular texts in mind. While there were proper tunes in this category that interacted with their texts in terms of metre and basic rhythmic structure, the musical evidence supports a closer connection between these tunes and their texts.

Figure 2.1: Psalm 72:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

Lord geue thy iudg - ments to the kyng, ther - in in - struct him well:

And with his sonne that Prince - ly thyng, Lord let thy iust - yce dwell.

That he may gou - erne vp - ryght - ly, And rule thy folke a - ryghte:

and so de - fende throughe e - qui - tie, the poore that haue no myght.

* STC 2433 prints b¹ rather than d¹.

The tune from Psalm 72 (Figure 2.1) is one of these "new" proper psalm tunes that displays a close connection with its text. Asking the Lord to bless the king and the king's son, this psalm is unquestionably celebratory because of its focus on the different worldly blessings David asks for his son, Solomon. Considering its natural system, *ambitus* from e to e¹, and *finalis* on a¹, in addition to its cadences on e, c¹, and a, the tune is classified as mode 10. The sixteenth-century ear probably also focused on the quality of the most common intervals in the tune.⁷⁰ The tune moves mostly in stepwise motion, but the first two couplets often use the harsher intervals of a perfect fourth or perfect fifth. These two phrases describe how the Lord gives his power and justice to David and Solomon, and the perfect intervals in these phrases reinforce the perfect power

⁷⁰ For more detailed discussion of this, see Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect* (Burlington Vermont: Ashgate, 2010).

and justice of God.⁷¹ The third couplet continues to move stepwise and skips down a fourth at the hemistich, returning to the dominant melodic intervals of the first two couplets. However, the melodic interval following the poetic hemistich in the third phrase was uncommon in the sixteenth century and in the repertoire of the *Whole booke*. This melodic interval of a seventh does not reappear in the *Whole booke*. Replacing the upper note with a b^1 , John Day's *First parte* [STC 2433] of 1564 seemingly corrects the leap to create a perfect fifth, which makes more sense than a melodic seventh within the context of sixteenth-century music. However, the rest of Day's psalters reproduce the original version from the *Whole booke*, including William Parsons' harmonisation of the tune found in Day's 1563 *Whole psalms in foure partes* [STC 2431]. This suggests that the melodic fifth was the misprint rather than the seventh.

In addition to the rare melodic seventh that appears after the poetic hemistich, another rare interval appears at the transition between the third and fourth couplets. In fact, this melodic interval, a sixth, appears in only three other psalm tunes in the *Whole booke*, the tunes for Psalms 78, 135, and 147. Often the quality of the melodic sixth adds emphasis to the character of the tune, closely following the character of the text.⁷² In the more contemplative Psalm 78, for example, the tune employs the interval of a minor sixth, and Psalm 147 uses the same interval to describe Israel's dispersion among the heathen nations.

The tune for Psalm 72 is another example, as it leaps up a major sixth at an important point in the psalm text. The rest of the fourth couplet of that tune uses the

⁷¹ The psalm's argument similarly highlights these concepts, "He prayeth that the kingdom of God by Christ may come vnder the parson of Salomon, vnder whom shall be rightuousnes, peace and felicitie..." STC 2430, p. 169.

⁷² McKinney, *Interval Affect*, 44-7. Ascending leaps of a minor sixth were common in the sixteenth century, but their scarcity in the *Whole booke*, would have made them stand out to sixteenth-century psalm singers. In addition to the three psalms discussed presently, the fourth tune using an interval of a sixth, Psalm 135, is discussed below.

melodic interval of a minor third when it departs from its otherwise stepwise motion. In the first stanza, David changes his focus from his son to "the poore that have no myght." Thus, the melodic sixth acts as a musical interjection followed by softer intervals of a minor third to continue the shift in focus. This shift fits the first stanza, and it continues to suit the text in later stanzas as well. For instance, in talking about the king's aid to the poor at the end of the second stanza, Hopkins' versification says, "And eke destroy for euermore, | all those that doo them wrong."⁷³ The character shifts again in the seventh stanza. Though it expresses faith that the king will redeem the poor, the stanza finishes with, "And eke the bloud that they shall bleed, | is precious in his sight."⁷⁴ This suggests the poor will suffer before the king delivers them. Thus, once again, the shift from the major and harsher perfect intervals of the first three couplets to the softer intervals of the fourth couplet suits the text.

Figure 2.2: Psalm 46:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

The Lorde is oure de-fen-ce and ayde, the strength wher-by we stand,
 when we with wo are muche dis-maide, he is our helpe at hand
 Though thearth re-moue we will not feare: though hilles so high and stepe,
 be thrust and hur-led heare and there, with-in the sea so depe.

Another of the new tunes from the second category that suits its text is Psalm 46 (Figure 2.2). In this psalm text made famous by Martin Luther's "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," the psalmist expresses his faith in God despite the upheaval occurring

⁷³ STC 2430, p. 170.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 172.

around him. Just as with Psalm 72, perfect fourths and fifths dominate the melodic intervals greater than a second in the tune, and these harsher perfect intervals mark the violent turmoil surrounding the psalmist. Coinciding with the melodic interval of a perfect fifth in the third line of first stanza, Hopkins writes, "though hilles so high and stepe,"⁷⁵ This leap is not only the largest interval in the whole tune but it also reaches the tune's highest note. The following melodic third, stepwise return to c¹, and jump down for the cadence on f present both a visual and auditory picture of steep hills.

As the singer progresses through the entire psalm text, the character of this melodic interval changes. In the third stanza this melodic fragment appears with the text, "the people make a noyse." Rather than describing the harshness of the steep hills, this stanza uses the same melody to describe the cacophonous voices of the heathen nations that rebel against God. The fragment repeats with the text, "the working of our God" in the fourth stanza, transforming the character of the musical excerpt to reflect the holy character and perfect work of God, which the following stanzas confirm. The final quatrain of the versified psalm text interestingly juxtaposes the musical excerpt's earlier character with that of the latter. Its text, "he is our strength and tower," parallels the steep hills of the first stanza by describing God as a strong and like a tower. While the text applied characteristics such as harshness, power and strength to this melodic excerpt dominated by perfect fifths, these did not conflict with sixteenth-century perceptions of this melodic interval.⁷⁶

While these tunes display a close relationship to their texts, other "new" tunes treat their texts in a more generic way. One example is the tune from Psalm 135 (Figure 2.3). As discussed above, Psalm 135 is one of four tunes to employ the interval of a melodic sixth. While composers used this interval to highlight portions of the text in the previous examples, the tune from Psalm 135 is different. First, it uses a minor

⁷⁵ Ibid., 106.

⁷⁶ McKinney, *Interval Affect*, 41-3.

sixth, which was much more common in the sixteenth century. The interval also appears at the hemistich of the second couplet, between the linking verb, "be," and definite article, "the." Since this interval appears at the hemistich, it helps to distinguish between the two textual phrases. However, these two particular words are relatively insignificant in the couplet. Indeed, the *ambitus*, scale patterns, and interval qualities used throughout the tune do not suggest any specific connection with the text. This tune instead is more generic, making it suitable for several texts. Suggesting a formulaic rather than textually informed approach to composition, the tune uses the rhythm of the first couplet as a pattern for couplets two and three. Though the fourth deviates from this rhythmic pattern, the changes were not the result of textual considerations like the tunes in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*.⁷⁷ The result is a melodic phrase that places rhythmic accents on inappropriate words such as "and" and "of."

Figure 2.3: Psalm 135:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

O Praise the lord praise him praise him, praise him with one ac - cord,

o praise him still al ye that be the ser - uaunts of the lord,

o praise him ye that stand and be, in the house of the Lord,

ye of his court and of his house praise hym with one ac - cord.

The tune from Psalm 135 is an extreme example of a tune introduced in Day's psalters that was not particularly suited to its text. It is impossible to know whether the tunes preceded the texts or if they were composed for their proper texts, but the evidence from the tunes in this second group reveals that the *Whole booke* compilers—

⁷⁷ For further discussion, see Chapter 1.

just like the Anglo-Genevan compilers—chose proper tunes that suited their texts well. While their methods for pairing texts and tunes varied wildly between psalms, the evidence suggests that most of the proper psalm tunes appearing for the first time in this volume suit their proper texts in one way or another. Despite this connection between a text and its proper tune in the *Whole booke*, its compilers took more liberties in pairing many of the proper tunes with several texts than its Anglo-Genevan predecessors.⁷⁸ Perhaps compilers thought that people would still refer to each tune by its text. However, it is impossible to know if common practice reflected this ideal.

Anglo-Genevan Tunes Rejected in the *Whole booke*

The third and final category (third column, Table 2.5) has two subsections. The first includes those tunes dropped in the *Whole booke* that it did not replace with another tune. By far the larger of the two subcategories, it includes 32 psalm tunes. Of these, the *Whole booke* dropped 16 because the metres of their new texts did not match the metres of their original texts in *Foure score*. This left 16 tunes that *Whole booke* compilers could have included in the edition but chose to omit. Considering that Day rushed to print the *Whole book*, it is tempting to ascribe these inclinations to time limits. This theory is unlikely for two reasons. First, Day had already printed each of these tunes in *Foure score*, so he only had to copy the music from the previous edition. Transferring these tunes to the *Whole booke* would have required less work than composing new tunes from scratch.

The second reason becomes clear when comparing Psalm 91 between *Foure score* and the *Whole booke*.⁷⁹ *Foure score* had printed a unique tune for Psalm 91 and suggested that Psalm 94 use the same tune, but the *Whole booke* did not print a tune for

⁷⁸ Of these tunes, only eight were not paired with a second text (Pss. 61, 88, 132, 135, 136, 141, 145, and 147). However, later editions would reduce this by half, as four (Pss. 88, 141, 145, and 147) began to be paired with texts that did not have proper tunes or tune suggestions in the 1562 *Whole booke*. See Appendix B.

⁷⁹ See Appendix B.

Psalm 91. It did not even provide a tune suggestion for the psalm. If Day had intended to include the tune for Psalm 91, it would have been easy to retain the tune suggestion from *Foure score* for Psalm 94. Rather, the *Whole booke* recommended that singers use the tune from Psalm 41 for the text of Psalm 94. The evidence indicates that this tune suggestion was not a random selection, because the *Whole booke* often recommended tunes that were close in proximity to a particular text, as discussed earlier. Since the *Whole booke* suggested a tune separated from its text by 51 psalms, this shows the choice was intentional.⁸⁰ As was often the case with the Anglo-Genevan psalters, pairing these two psalms was suitable, as both psalms describe how God protects his people. Indeed, the arguments for Psalms 41 and 94 are very similar. In Psalm 41, the psalmist is said to be “greuously afflicted” but God does not allow “his enemies to triumphe against him;” and in Psalm 94, he “praieth vnto God against the violence and arrogancie of tyrauntes...whom the Lord will destroy.”⁸¹ By suggesting this new psalm tune for Psalm 94 in the *Whole booke*, Day may have intended to replace the proper tune from Psalm 91 in *Foure score* with a tune suggestion, as later editions would suggest the tune from Psalm 78 for the text of Psalm 91. This would indicate that while Day had printed these tunes in the past, something made them less desirable to him, his compilers, and his customers.

Of the tunes in the *Whole booke*, the subcategory of rejected Anglo-Genevan tunes that the *Whole booke* replaced with new tunes could provide some important evidence for why some Anglo-Genevan tunes were rejected. This subcategory includes seven tunes, but four of those resulted from metrical differences between the paraphrases.⁸² One of the remaining three, the proper tune for Psalm 78, first appeared

⁸⁰ The importance of such suggestions with regard to performance practice is discussed in Chapter 6, p. 253.

⁸¹ *STC* 2430, pp. 94, 233.

⁸² The tunes within this subcategory were printed with Psalms 1, 21, 50, 78, 88, Whittingham’s second version of “The Lord’s Prayer,” and his “Song of Simeon.” The paraphrases of Psalms 50

in the 1556 edition and survived the musical consolidation of the 1558 edition. Thus, the *Whole booke* compilers must have replaced it for a reason. In this psalm, the psalmist performs his covenantal duties, telling his children the stories that his parents told him. After gaining the attention of the younger generations, he details several ways in which the Lord has been faithful to His people and delivered them from their enemies. Sternhold paraphrased this psalm in common metre, and both tunes use his text (Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5). They stay within the standard style of the metrical psalm tunes of the time, as both limit their *ambitus* to an octave or less and preserve rhythmic simplicity. They are also both divided into two sections, with the second-line cadence matching the *finalis* followed by a leap up to start the third line.

Figure 2.4: Psalm 78:1 in the 1561 *Four* score [STC 2429.5]

A - tend my: peo - ple to my Law, and to my wordes in - cline:

My mouth shal speake strange par - a - bles and sen - ten - ces di - uine:

Which we our - selues haue heard and learnde euen of our fa - thers olde,

And which for our in - struc - ti - on our fa - thers haue us tolde.

While the two tunes are similar in many ways, their differences express the text in different ways. In particular, they use flats differently. The systems of both tunes have one flat, but the Genevan tune also regularly uses E \flat s. While four of these flats are necessary to avoid an augmented fourth between b \flat^1 and e 1 , none of the tunes in the *Whole booke* use more than one flat. Therefore, this tune would have been odd in the

and 88, along with the two Whittingham texts, used different metres, so different tunes would have been needed to accommodate these changes.

Whole booke. According to the conventions used in the previous chapter, this tune would be characterised as transposed mode 6 due to its opening and *finalis* on B \flat , *ambitus*, and cadences at the ends of each line. While the first couplet cadences on g—an admittedly odd cadence on the sixth scale degree within mode 6—the remainder of the tune stresses B \flat due to the cadences on b \flat ¹ and d at the ends of the other lines. Therefore, English compilers chose a tune that more closely conformed to traditional conventions of scalar progression and modal conception.

Figure 2.5: Psalm 78:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

A - tend my peo ple to my Law and to my wordes in - clyne.

My mouthe shall speake straunge par - a - bles and sen - ten - ces de - uyne.

Which we our-selues haue hard and lernd, euen of oure fa - thers olde,

And whiche for our in - struc - ti - on our fa - thers haue vs tolde.

The Anglo-Genevan tune is strongly cohesive, using its binary structure to dictate the interaction between the couplets. The first two lines are related both rhythmically and melodically, and the tune prepares each cadence with repeated notes followed by a step down. While the second line relates to the first, the third and fourth lines are mutations of the second. Lines 3 and 4 keep the rhythmic changes that set the second line apart from the first, but they place a syncopation after the half-cadence. Anticipating the fourth line, the third line moves upward to its cadence. Conversely, the final line provides closure by moving downwards to the *finalis* and recalling the repeated note pattern so prevalent in the first two lines of the tune.

While the Anglo-Genevan tune uses mutation and development to provide its musical content, the English tune is a collection of downward scales. As stated earlier, the English tune has little rhythmic variation, so it had to rely on melodic movement for its sense of variety and motion. The first section, comprising the first two lines, is a collection of four downward scales that either conclude at the midpoint or end each line. In each case, an upward leap follows each scale before starting the next one. The tune deviates from this pattern at the beginning of each line and the end of the second line, while the series of skips closing the second line becomes the motive for the second section. The third line begins in a similar fashion as the first, with a series of skips before beginning its series of stepwise descents. Continuing the downward motion of these preceding lines, the fourth is unlike the other three. It uses a combination of skips down and upward steps akin to the end of the second phrase. The Anglo-Genevan and *Whole booke* tunes for Psalm 78 are equally unified. Thus, compilers of the *Whole booke* did not base their decisions on musical cohesiveness of the tunes. Two other potential influences—rhythm and melodic contour—deserve consideration. For examples of these, discussion turns to the *Whole booke*'s two remaining replaced psalm tunes.

Psalm 1 is the opening statement for the Book of Psalms, directing people to follow God's Law. While the Lord will bless and nourish His followers, just as a tree beside a river, the heat of God's judgement will wither sinners, who will pass like chaff in the wind. Since the psalm text discusses such a wide spectrum of people and emotions, one could expect the Anglo-Genevan and English psalters to use very different tunes. In fact, the two tunes are similar (Figure 2.6 and Figure 2.7). Both use the same clef and system, and both use the same opening of semibreves on d and f. Though more prevalent in the Anglo-Genevan tune, both also have a set of repeated minims before a cadence; and each tune's *finalis* is d.

Figure 2.6: Psalm 1:1 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]

The man is blest that hath not bent, to wick-ed rede his eare:
 Nor led his life as sin-ners do, nor sate in scorn-ers chaire.
 But in the lawe of God the Lorde, doth set his whole de-light,
 And in that law doth ex-er-cise, him-selfe both day and night.

Figure 2.7: Psalm 1:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

The man is blest that hath not bent, to wick-ed rede his eare:
 Nor led his life as sin-ners do nor sat in scorn-ers chair.
 But in the law of God the lord, doth set his whole de-light,
 And in that law doth ex-er-cise, him-selfe both day and night.

While these likenesses suggest a similar musical approach to this particular psalm text, their differences may help explain why the Anglo-Genevan tune may have been less acceptable—or at least less popular—than the *Whole booke* tune. Though it is a tempting hypothesis, the rhythm was probably not a significant factor in the decision. Other than the semibreves found at the beginning and end of each melodic line and at the hemistich of each poetic line, English compilers preferred the exclusive use of minims in the tunes for Psalms 1, 21, and 78. Other tunes in the *Whole booke*, however,

use more rhythmic variety than the most extreme Anglo-Genevan tunes. For instance, the *Whole booke* tunes for Psalms 141, 145, and 147 all use dotted minims and crochets, neither of which are not found in the Anglo-Genevan editions. Moreover, Psalm 6 (Figure 2.8) is an example in which the *Whole book* retained a complex rhythm from an Anglo-Genevan tune. This tune which appeared with the same rhythms in the 1558 edition created syncopations by placing semibreves in the middle of its phrases. Since the *Whole booke* editors were comfortable with the more irregular rhythm of the original melody, the choice of a different tune for Psalm 1 resulted from factors other than the rhythm.

Figure 2.8: Tune from Psalm 6 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]



The choice between the Anglo-Genevan and English versions of the tune for Psalm 1 may have been influenced by melodic contour, however. The Anglo-Genevan melody uses two upward-moving phrases in the first line. A downward phrase follows this at the beginning of the second line, and it is extended by an abbreviated arch-like phrase that acts like an extended cadence. Thus, the first two lines can be heard as a single arch contour, with a coda at the end. While the Anglo-Genevan tune spreads its first melodic arch over its first two lines, the *Whole booke* tune placed complete arches in each of its first two lines. The first line begins and ends on d, whereas the second

works its way up to c^1 through a series of melodic motifs before ending down on f . In particular, the self-contained arch of the first line of the *Whole booke* tune may have set it apart from its Anglo-Genevan predecessor. Of the 21 psalm tunes that first appeared in Day's psalters, the first lines of 13 tunes follow this full-arch pattern.⁸³ In addition, 8 of the 16 hymn and canticle tunes within the *Whole booke* employed complete melodic arches in their first lines. This suggests English compilers preferred melodies that outlined a full arch in their first lines.

It is also possible that compilers of the *Whole booke* tunes may have felt they could improve on the Anglo-Genevan tunes. The *Whole booke* tune composer for Psalm 1 perhaps even had the Anglo-Genevan tune in mind while writing. Despite some variations between their opening phrases, both tunes open with an overall movement from d to a^1 . While the Anglo-Genevan tune repeats this upward motion in the second phrase, the *Whole booke* inverts and simplifies the first phrase and cadences back on d . This figure completes the arch contour so common in English psalm tunes, but it also added melodic interest to the first line. The second lines of both tunes begin with similar phrases and end with variations of their respective first lines. Both tunes continue with unique material in the first phrase of their third lines and again at the beginning of the fourth line. However, the *Whole booke* tune once again reveals its connection to the Anglo-Genevan tune in the concluding phrases of both these lines. The second phrase of its third line begins on d^1 , which the Anglo-Genevan tune used so prominently at the beginning of its third line, and it cannot escape the cadential figure found in the third line of the Anglo-Genevan tune. In a similar fashion, the two tunes close by highlighting the same notes: g , e , and the *finalis* on d . On their own merit, one could dismiss these likenesses as coincidence or the result of using the same modal parameters of clef, number of flats, and *finalis*. However, their cumulative effect

⁸³ Since Day's *Foure score and seuen psalmes* was a reprint of an earlier Anglo-Genevan edition, these numbers exclude any tunes that made their first appearance in that edition.

suggests the composer of the *Whole booke* tune borrowed from the Anglo-Genevan tune. Perhaps even more importantly, the composer tried to improve on the Anglo-Genevan tune, while preserving the rhythmic and melodic style common in English metrical psalm and hymn tunes.

Figure 2.9: Psalm 21:1 in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561a]

O Lord how ioy - full is the king, in thy strength and thy power:
 how ve - hement - ly doth he re - ioyce in thee his Sa - ui - our?
 for thou hast giu - en vn - to him his God - ly hartes de - sire:
 To him hast thou no - thing de - nied, of that he did re - quire.

Figure 2.10: Psalm 21:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

O Lord how ioy - full is the king, in thy strength, and thy power;
 how ve - ment - ly doeth he re - ioyce in thee his sa - ui - or.
 For thou haste geu - en vn - to him his god - ly harts de - sire:
 to hym no - thing hast thou de - nide of that he did re - quire.

Like the *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 1, the first line of the *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 21 (Figure 2.10) contains melodic material that is remarkably similar to that of the Anglo-Genevan tune for the same psalm (Figure 2.9). Despite the fact that

the Anglo-Genevan would be classified as mode 12 and the English as transposed mode 10 due to their *ambitus*, cadences, and *finalis*, both tunes begin on a¹. After repeating this a¹, the tunes diverge, with the Anglo-Genevan tune going up a step and the *Whole booke* tune remaining on a¹. Interestingly, after this point, the motivic content of the two tunes is nearly identical. The third note of the Anglo-Genevan tune marks the beginning of a five-note motif moving from c¹ down to b¹ and stepwise up to e¹, and the *Whole booke* tune transposes this motif one step higher. Though the two tunes use different rhythms, the first two notes of the second phrase in each are the same. Again, the Anglo-Genevan and *Whole booke* tunes diverge at this point, but they remain connected. The Anglo-Genevan tune continues its stepwise ascent to g¹ before skipping down to e¹. The *Whole booke* parallels this motion a fourth lower than the Anglo-Genevan psalter, this time preserving the intervallic content of the motif by using a B \flat .

After the first line, the *Whole booke* tune eschews the melodic content of the Anglo-Genevan tune. Since both the second and third lines of the Anglo-Genevan tune start and end on the same notes, it is possible that English composers were trying to improve on the original tune. The alternative, as printed in the *Whole booke*, uses those two lines to create a melodic arch.

While these changes made the overall structure of the *Whole booke* tune more interesting than the Anglo-Genevan, the musical success of the changes are weakened by a fairly unsuccessful final melodic line. Beginning on f, the *Whole booke* tune moves up to f¹ in a largely stepwise motion. Such a motion in the last line of the tune would suggest a *finalis* on f, c, or a, rather than the actual *finalis* on d¹. That repeated notes from a step below precede the cadence is also strange for the newly composed English tune. When preparing a cadence with a repeated note followed by a step, the tunes

introduced in the Day psalters (second column, Table 2.5) would normally approach it from above.⁸⁴

The *Whole booke* tunes in the third category—the new tunes introduced into English-language psalters—display a wide variety of characteristics. Metrical differences between the texts of the English and Anglo-Genevan editions were the most common reason that *Whole booke* compilers did not use tunes from the Anglo-Genevan editions. Of the remaining tunes, each was as equally cohesive as its predecessor, and the rhythms of the “new” *Whole booke* could be both simpler and more complicated than the Anglo-Genevan tunes. Aside from metre, the three tunes discussed above suggest that melodic contour may have been a significant deciding factor for tunes chosen in the *Whole booke*. Most of the new *Whole booke* tunes employed melodic arches, and many preferred to use a complete arch in their first line. On the other hand, these tunes maintained some connection with their texts, just like the Anglo-Genevan editions. By aligning the musical emphases with the accentuation patterns of their texts, English compilers created more memorable psalm settings.⁸⁵

The content of the *Whole booke* represents a wide range of priorities of its many contributors, editors, and compilers. By combining the efforts of the Anglo-Genevan editions with his efforts, Day's psalter project effectively included the work of seven authors,⁸⁶ an unknown number of musicians, and at least four editors⁸⁷ whose work spanned roughly 15 years.⁸⁸ It is no wonder that the resulting *Whole booke* was so diverse. To counteract this, Day brought in Hopkins and Norton to help him complete

⁸⁴ Consider the ends of lines three and four of Psalm 1 from the *Whole booke* (Figure 2.7) as another example.

⁸⁵ For evaluations of musical-textual connections in the Anglo-Genevan editions, see Chapter 1, pp. 52-9.

⁸⁶ For a complete list of authors, see Table 2.1.

⁸⁷ Whittingham and others edited the Anglo-Genevan editions, whereas Day, Hopkins, and Norton edited the *Whole booke*. See discussions on pp. 32, 88-96.

⁸⁸ The project effectively began with Thomas Sternhold in the mid-1540s, see Introduction, pp. 15-16.

the Anglo-Genevan psalm versifications, giving his psalter editions a local flavour.

Musically, Day's compilers selected a set of simple tunes for the people to use with the metrical psalm texts. Just as the textual preferences of these two men were not the result of any political bias, the tunes preferences did not result from a similar bias. The result of the editorial decisions—textual and musical—made the *Whole booke* a uniquely English metrical psalter. Such a varied volume provided Day with the greatest chance of success in the religiously diverse city of London by appealing to staunch Calvinists, faithful ecclesiastical nationalists, and those in between.

CHAPTER 3: CREATING A SCOTTISH METRICAL PSALTER

When the Marian exiles returned to Britain in the early months of 1559, the religious and political climates of England and Scotland were different. English exiles returned home to a monarch in Elizabeth I who was sympathetic to Protestantism, as established by her Act of Supremacy (1559) and Act of Uniformity (1559). While her efforts did more than simply re-establish the Protestant church of her brother, Edward VI, the earlier church served as a foundation for the Elizabethan church. Scots, on the other hand, returned to a Roman Catholic country and had to build their Protestant church from scratch. While some foundations for a Protestant Kirk had been laid earlier, work on reforming the Scottish church began in earnest when the exiles such as John Knox and Christopher Goodman arrived in Scotland. In addition, they had to deal with a Roman Catholic Regent in Mary of Guise, who often discouraged the advances of Protestantism. The religious tensions between Protestant leaders and the established church and state eventually transformed into open rebellion. This Reformation Crisis pitted Scottish Protestants against their Regent and eventually resulted in the establishment of a Reformed Kirk in Scotland, but only after several years of tension and fighting and the intervention of their “auld enemy,” the English.¹

Parallels with the religious situations in England and Scotland can be found within their metrical psalters. With a foundation in the Edwardian church and a growing printing trade at their disposal, English Protestants quickly began working to complete the metrical psalter, which Day completed in 1562.² However, without this foundation and without a comparable printing industry, Scots did not finish their own version until the end of 1564. When completed, this psalter reflected the influences of

¹ For more on the events leading up to the Scottish Reformation, see Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

² See Chapter 2, pp. 77-88.

a number of different sources, which paralleled the Scots Confession of 1560.³ The chief of these influences was the 1561 edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, which was the main reason for the textual differences with the editions printed by John Day.⁴ However, just as the mixture of beliefs found in the Confession was unique to Scotland, the Scottish psalter contained a unique mixture of influences from other psalm and hymn traditions. This chapter briefly discusses the Reformation in Scotland and evaluates the eventual result of Scottish reform efforts on the first complete metrical psalter printed in the country, the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments* [STC 16577a].

3.1 Reforming Scotland

The efforts of Reformers such as Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart convinced some Scots of Protestantism long before 1560. Later, Knox's visit to Scotland in 1555-6 would also prove very important. One year later, a group of Scottish lords, who would become known as the Lords of the Congregation, promised "...to mainteane, sett forward, and extablishe the most blessed Word of God, and His congregatioun..."⁵ This First Band signalled a shift within the underground Protestant movement, and the return of John Knox to Scotland in May 1559 invigorated Protestants and encouraged them to openly rebel against their church and Regent. A few confrontations resulted, and the Protestants saw some success in the beginning. However, their progress slowed as Mary began to receive troop reinforcements from France. While these extra French troops had the Congregation's forces on their heels, they also made many Scots

³ Ian Hazlett argues that while the Scots Confession was distinctly influenced by Geneva, it also owes much to the other Continental reforms. Such a mixture was unique to Scotland. W. Ian P. Hazlett, "The Scots Confession 1560: Context, Complexion and Critique," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 287-320.

⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, Day based his *Whole booke* on the 1558 edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*.

⁵ David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 1:326.

nervous, fearing that the Guises in France were transforming Scotland into a French puppet.⁶

Perhaps even more importantly, it caused a similar reaction in England that offered Queen Elizabeth a good reason to intervene on behalf of the Protestants. Beginning in 1295, Scotland had been allied with the French for mutual protection against the English, which was also known as the “Auld Alliance.”⁷ Since the French were now working against them, John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation turned to Elizabeth for help. While Elizabeth was reluctant to get involved, Scottish reformers were able to persuade Cecil, her chief advisor, to take the matter up with the Queen. Eventually, the threat posed by a large French military presence in Scotland convinced Elizabeth to act in favour of the Congregation. Since France’s Francis II and his wife Mary, Queen of Scots had a claim to the English throne, Elizabeth could not allow a significant French military presence on her northern border.⁸ She therefore sent ships to blockade the Firth of Forth in January 1560. At the same time, France had sent reinforcements to Scotland, but the English ships arrived first and forced French troops to retreat to their fort at Leith.

Elizabeth pledged further support in February through the Treaty of Berwick, and Regent Mary of Guise died just four months later from dropsy. This allowed Scottish nobles to begin to negotiate with the English and French. The resulting Treaty of Edinburgh between English and French forces in July 1560 officially allied Scotland with England and formally broke Scotland’s “auld alliance” with France. Since Mary,

⁶ Mary’s brothers Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, and Francis, Duke of Guise, both had positions in the French government. For her part, Mary gave Frenchmen high-ranking positions in her government, including charge over the treasury and Great Seal.

⁷ The “auld alliance” had dominated Scottish policy since 1295. Elizabeth Bonner, “Scotland’s ‘Auld Alliance’ with France, 1295-1560,” *History* 84, Issue 273 (January 1999): 5-30.

⁸ Roman Catholics insisted that Mary was the rightful heir because of Elizabeth’s illegitimate birth to Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne. Thus, Francis II and Mary, Queen of Scots were proclaimed King and Queen of England, because Mary’s grandmother was the sister of England’s Henry VIII. Jane E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 208-12.

Queen of Scots remained in France with her husband, the Scottish Lords took control of the country and Parliament was called in August 1560. After formally rejecting Roman Catholicism, the parliament commissioned a committee consisting of the six Johns (Knox, Winram, Spottiswoode, Willock, Douglas, and Row) to recommend the liturgical form and ecclesiastical polity for the church in Scotland. Meeting at the Magdelene Chapel in Edinburgh in 1560, they began by drawing up the *First Book of Discipline*. While they initially focused on issues of fundamental theology and church discipline, they did not totally neglect the musical liturgy for the new church and made the following recommendation:

Moreover, men, women, children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in the Psalmes, that when the Kirk doth convene and sing, they may be the more able together with common hearts and voyces to praise God.⁹

Despite the implication that psalms should be sung in church, their initial meetings did not deal with the incomplete state of the metrical psalters. Since Knox and his colleagues wanted to transplant Anglo-Geneva and its religious and political standards to Scotland, the matter of the incomplete metrical psalter was perhaps unimportant in comparison to larger ecclesiastical issues.¹⁰ The Anglo-Genevan psalters satisfactorily served the needs of the exile community in Geneva, so there was no reason to think that Scotland would be any different—for the time being.

While metrical versifications of all 150 psalm texts were not available in the Anglo-Genevan editions, the committee nonetheless recommended that people regularly sing and recite the psalms. They recognised that smaller churches perhaps would find it difficult to learn the new psalms immediately:

The other is profitable, but not merely necessarie: that Psalmes should be sung; that certain places of the Scripture be read when there is no sermon; that this day or that, few or many, in the week, the kirk should assemble. Of

⁹ *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James Cameron (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1972), 186-7.

¹⁰ Jane E.A. Dawson, "Knox, Goodman and the 'Example of Geneva'," in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, ed. Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 107-35.

these and such others we cannot see how a certaine order can be established. For in some kirks the Psalms may conveniently be sung; in others, perchance, they cannot.¹¹

The committee acknowledged the benefit of singing psalms in worship, but it allowed worship services to continue without a “certaine order,” or established musical liturgy. This would have allowed for any musical content, so some areas probably sang metrical psalms, while others may have used other musical content or none at all.

For the areas that could sing the psalms, however, the committee’s recommendations were sparse. Considering that there were several competing metrical psalters available, the committee did not recommend which psalm paraphrases would be suitable for churches. Most early reformed Scottish worship services that used metrical psalms probably employed the editions of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*. Even if Scots had access to Day’s 1560 metrical psalter, it was still simply a reprint of the 1558 *Forme of prayers*.¹² Therefore, any English influence on Scottish metrical psalmody would have been small in 1560 and limited to the Anglo-Genevan and Edwardian editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms. While the pre-Anglo-Genevan Sternhold and Hopkins texts probably appeared in Scotland shortly after 1550, Day’s metrical psalters almost certainly had an influence in Scotland only after some of the English paraphrases and tunes appeared in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*.¹³ Instead, Scots had access to the Anglo-Genevan psalms and those of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* in 1560.¹⁴

As opposed to the new versifications in the Day psalters, the metrical settings found in the *Ballatis* were available to the early Scottish Kirk. Several references

¹¹ *First Booke*, 180.

¹² *RR*, 201-3.

¹³ The date of the appearance of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts in Scotland is uncertain, as Patrick does not provide any evidence for his assertion that they appeared in Scotland around 1550. Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 45-6.

¹⁴ For an introduction to the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, see pp. 14-15.

suggest Scots knew the texts from the *Ballatis* before 1560,¹⁵ and their popularity lasted into the seventeenth century.¹⁶ James Melville, the nephew of Scottish Reformer Andrew Melville, provided one account of these editions, writing of his experience in 1569, "...whereof I lerned diverse par ceur, with great diversitie of toones."¹⁷ Gordon Munro adds that Montrose, James' hometown, supplemented their graveside services with texts from the *Ballatis*.¹⁸ However, this practice doubtless was uncommon across Scotland, as the Scottish Kirk did not approve any of the metrical psalms from the *Ballatis* for use in the Kirk. While they did not disapprove them either, the eventual complete psalter printed as the Scottish *Forme of prayers* excluded all the texts from the *Ballatis*.¹⁹ Had Scots regularly used the *Ballatis* in worship, it is hard to imagine why they would have been excluded from the *Forme of prayers*.

The reasons for excluding the versifications from the *Ballatis* from the Scottish metrical psalters are uncertain. Nicholas Temperley suggests the *Forme of prayers* excluded them because of the texts' Lutheran origins.²⁰ Though possible, the character of the Scots Confession suggests his thesis is unlikely. Ian Hazlett noted that the 1560 Scots Confession did not totally accept the Anglo-Genevan worship practice and order of discipline. In fact, the Confession included much from other Protestant traditions, including Lutheranism.²¹ While most Protestant Scots preferred Calvinism to Lutheranism, it would have been extreme for them to reject metrical psalms simply based on the Lutheran preferences of their original authors. Preferring Anglo-Genevan

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The last known edition of the *Ballatis* [STC 2998] was printed in 1621.

¹⁷ *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, 1842), 23.

¹⁸ "The Fome and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois" is discussed and printed in *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), 1:293-300. See also Gordon Munro, "Scottish Church Music and Musicians" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1999), 122.

¹⁹ The lone exception to this is Psalm 83, which Pont re-worked for his versification.

²⁰ Nicholas Temperley, et al. "Psalms, metrical, §IV: Scotland and Ireland," in *OMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22479pg4>.

²¹ Hazlett, "Scots Confession," 287-320.

texts was more practical for Scots than a simple rejection of Lutheran beliefs. No ecclesiastical body had approved the *Ballatis*, so use of those texts would have required editing and approving them before they could be used in Scottish churches. As the only text in the 1564-5 *Forme of Prayers* based on a text from the *Ballatis*, Robert Pont's versification of Psalm 83 is an example of the minimum amount of editorial work that would have been necessary.²² The other psalms from the *Ballatis*, such as Psalms 31 and 51, would have required significant efforts to make them acceptable to the Assembly. As Jamie Reid-Baxter notes, Psalm 31 in the *Ballatis* included only the first five verses, and the version of Psalm 51 incorporated several "devotional tropes" as well as a refrain.²³ Thus, the *Ballatis* were excluded from the *Forme of prayers* probably because they were more freely translated from the Biblical texts than other versifications available at the time.

In particular, the Anglo-Genevan psalms were a better and more expedient alternative since the exiles had already edited them and John Calvin had already approved them. By encouraging the use of the Anglo-Genevan psalms, the Kirk could begin to sing approved metrical texts immediately. Describing the 1556 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers, &c.*, the *First Book of Discipline* took ownership of it, writing that it was "oure book of Common Ordour."²⁴ It also later described the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* as "...the Order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our Churches..."²⁵ While modern historians distinguish the *Forme of prayers* from the metrical psalms, sixteenth-century Scots did not. Instead, they referred to both books under the single title of the "Psalm buik." Booksellers further encouraged the conflation because they often bound the two books together. Thus, most sixteenth-

²² Jamie Reid-Baxter, "Metrical Psalmody and the Bannatyne Manuscript: Robert Pont's Psalm 83" *Renaissance and Reformation* 30, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 41-62.

²³ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁴ *First Book*, 130-1, 182; *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848), 2:210, 239.

²⁵ *First Book*, 90-1.

century statements about the Scottish *Forme of prayers* would have included the metrical psalter by implication. Asserting that many churches in Scotland already used the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, the committee recognised a precedent for their proposal.

The new Kirk initially invested its time and resources in settling issues of basic doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. Instead of rushing to produce its own metrical psalter—like those in England—the Scottish Kirk relied on the continuing work on the metrical psalms in Geneva. Meanwhile, it could focus on more pressing issues. When it was clear that work in Geneva had ended with 63 psalms yet to versify, the Scottish General Assembly took action to complete the psalter. In December 1562, the General Assembly: “...for the printing of the psalmes...lent Robert Licprivick printer tua hundreth pounds to help to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fie craftsmen for printing.”²⁶

The one-year gap between the final 1561 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* and the December 1562 commission by the General Assembly remains unexplained. Since John Day printed his own version of the 1561 edition in the same year that the Anglo-Genevans printed the original, the Assembly’s delay is especially puzzling.²⁷ Several factors could explain the gap. First, the General Assembly met only two times each year, so their decision could have been made at the first meeting after the 1561 edition made it to Scotland. However, this possibility seems unlikely. Other than John Day’s *Foure score*, there were at least two editions of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* printed in 1560 and 1561 that were essentially the same as Day’s *Foure score*.²⁸ Therefore, by 6 March 1560—the print date of the former of these two volumes—the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* was essentially in its final state. Considering the close connections between Scotland and Geneva and the fact that Day was able to obtain a

²⁶ *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1836), 1:232.

²⁷ For an introduction to Day’s *Foure score*, see Chapter 2, p. 80.

²⁸ See Appendix B.

copy to allow him to print his *Foure score*, these latest editions had plenty of time to arrive in Scotland in time to make the docket for either of the two Assembly meetings in 1561. That the metrical psalter was not discussed until the second Assembly of 1562 suggests there may have been another reason for the delay.

It is possible that though the edition had reached Scotland before 1562, it was not yet known that the 1561 *Forme of prayers* would be the last Anglo-Genevan edition. Another project undertaken by Thomas Wode to provide harmonisations to the metrical psalms provides evidence suggesting this theory. He noted in his collection of part-books:

Thir bukis I begouth in the Year of god I m V c lxii yeiris [1562], and I rewlit and wes in purpose to have first wreatin the first vearce of everilk psalme that hes ane tune; and sum that knew this my purpose and preparation, desyrit me to stay a quhyle, for the heall psalmis wes printit in geneva and wer cum hoame shortly, and so I held my hand till the heall psalmis com hame...²⁹

Since several individuals told Wode to postpone his project in 1562, Scottish reformers may have expected further metrical paraphrases to come from Geneva. Whether those came in the form of the 1561 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, or whether they did not come at all, remains uncertain. Since Wode's completed part-books use all the tunes from the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*, both he and the Assembly probably waited to start their respective editions until work had ended in Geneva.

Another reason why work did not begin on a Scottish metrical psalter until December 1562 could have been that no printer had the means to print music at the time. Music printing required particular equipment and specially trained workers, and neither of these were cheap in the sixteenth century. While John Day had not printed music before Queen Elizabeth's reign, he had access to funds through his thriving printing business. Scottish printers, on the other hand, did not have a book trade like

²⁹ *GB-Eu La.III.483.1*, p. 177.

their southern counterparts, minimising their profit margins and capacity to undertake such expensive ventures.

By the end of 1562, it had become clear to those in Scotland that work in Geneva had stopped. Scottish psalter compilers would now begin work to complete the 1561 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*. That just left a second, and perhaps larger, obstacle, which the General Assembly remedied by providing Lekpreuik with the substantial sum of £200 to begin work on the first complete Scottish metrical psalter.³⁰

3.2 Robert Lekpreuik and his Contribution

Before considering the result of Lekpreuik's labours, it is important to introduce him and to identify the potential motives behind his work on the Scottish *Forme of prayers*. His life before 1561, when his press issued its first printings, remains a mystery, and his date and place of birth are unknown. While a Robert Lekpreuik was exiled on 8 August 1532, it is unclear if this refers to the printer.³¹ The earliest confirmable information regarding Lekpreuik the printer starts in 1561, as he began to build his business around Protestant publications. Specifically, in that year, he printed Robert Norvell's *Meroure of a Chrestiane* [STC 18688]³² as well as the first "official" Protestant publication in Scotland, *The confessione of the fayht and doctrin beleued and professed by the protestantes of the realme of Scotland* [STC 22018]. He also released

³⁰ See note 26.

³¹ Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond agreed with the historian Robert Pitcairn that the following reference refers to the printer: "Robert Lekpreuik Banished, by Warrant of the King, furth of the Kingdom of Scotland. He was sworn, in Judgement, to remove within xl days, under pain of death." Robert Pitcairn, ed., *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1833), 1:161; Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmund, *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890), 199. However, for this order to have referred to the eventual printer, the timing would offer little leeway, as T.F. Henderson estimates that Lekpreuik died in 1581. Since it was not common practice to send children and teenagers into exile, the printer would have been at least 20 years old by the time of his exile in 1532. If this was the case, Robert Lekpreuik would have been at least 69 years old in 1581. T.F. Henderson, 'Lekpreuik, Robert (fl. 1561–1581), printer', Martin Holt Dotterweich, rev., *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16414.

³² This volume, dedicated to the fifth earl of Argyll, contains a number of metrical canticles and ballads, but it does not print any music for them.

the first Scottish edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* [STC 16564] without the metrical psalms in 1562. With such experience, Lekpreuik became the printer of choice for Scottish reformers. Doubtless, the significant patronage of the Assembly at the end of 1562 provided a much-needed boost for Lekpreuik's business.³³ His receipt of funds for the necessary materials and employees effectively granted him a patent for publishing the metrical psalter, which was beginning to pay huge dividends to John Day down in England. It also granted Lekpreuik a monopoly over Scottish music printing, as he would have been the only printer in Scotland who had the necessary materials and labourers.³⁴ Despite this funding, he remained unable to sustain and modernise his business, so he sought further financial support from Robert Clerk, who at the time was an Edinburgh merchant and a supporter of the Protestant cause.³⁵ With this additional financial backing, Lekpreuik finally printed the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*.

Having published versifications for all 150 psalms as well as the Scottish *Forme of prayers*, Lekpreuik sent his draft to the General Assembly for approval in December 1564, when the Assembly approved it and ordered its use throughout Scotland:

It was ordained that every minister, exhorter, and reader shall have one of the psalme books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein...³⁶

Since the *First Book of Discipline* only suggested that churches should sing metrical psalms, this new ruling was a significant step in consolidating Scottish liturgical practice. By ordering every minister, exhorter, and Reader, to buy the new psalter the

³³ See p. 125.

³⁴ Though the Kirk sought to educate children to read and write, these goals would never be fully realised in the predominantly oral culture of sixteenth-century Scotland.

³⁵ Clerk must have had a falling out with Regent Moray, as he changed over to the Marian party around 1568. John Durkan, "Contract between Clerk and Lekpreuik for Printing the Book of Common Order, 1564," *Bibliothek* 11, no. 6 (1983): 129-35.

³⁶ APGA, 1:74-5; Calderwood, *Historie*, 2:284.

Assembly effectively mandated the use of metrical psalms in worship services throughout Scotland.³⁷

Despite this mandate, Lekpreuik's financial difficulties continued. In 1563, he claimed:

As I haue at all tymes bene ready to employe and bestowe my laboures, to the auancement of the glorie of God, and vtilitie of his Church, so the bruite rysing of this that I now present vnto thee good Reader Confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguels Masse, I wes moste diligent, and trauelled moste earnestly with the Author of it, that it might come to light.³⁸

This suggests Lekpreuik was a printer and a promoter of the Protestant cause. *The confutation of the abbote of Crossraguels masse* [STC 12968], in which these comments appear, was the result of much labour with the author, George Hay. Perhaps he overstated his involvement in the refutation, but the General Assembly recognised his work for the Kirk on 9 March 1570, declaring:

...having respect for his poverty, the great expenses he has made in the buying printing irons, and the great zeal and love he bears to serve the Kirk, at all times, has assigned to him fifty pounds, to be yearly payed...³⁹

In addition to his promotion of *The confutation*, this suggests Lekpreuik may have focused more on advancing the Protestant cause than preserving his printing business. However, these references reveal a difference between the English and Scottish print trades. In particular, London offered Day a comparatively large, well-developed market in which to sell his books. Scotland could not offer Lekpreuik any equivalent opportunities.

Another related approach to the differences between Day and Lekpreuik is critical for understanding their psalters. For Day, rejecting previously printed Anglo-Genevan metrical texts was not necessarily motivated by religious or political

³⁷ Throughout the present study, "Reader" refers to the position occupied in Kirks, whereas "reader" refers to any person who could read.

³⁸ Robert Lekpreuik, "The Prenter to the Reader," in *The confutation of the abbote of Crosraguels masse...* [STC 12968] by George Hay (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuik, 1563), [A1v].

³⁹ The date of the minutes list 9 March 1569, which would be 1570 by modern dating. *APGA* 1:202.

sentiments. Financial considerations, and more specifically an understanding of what he could sell in his London bookshops, led to his decision to work independently from the Anglo-Genevan versifiers and printers.⁴⁰ Lekpreuik, on the other hand, did not have this freedom to shape his psalter. Since the Kirk was the chief funder and buyer of the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*, Lekpreuik was effectively its employee. In contrast to the Day volumes, however, the motives of the Scottish *Forme of prayers* were driven by the religious and political beliefs of the Assembly. While they could have chosen to follow the intentionally English *Whole booke*, Scots instead chose to continue where the Anglo-Genevan editions had left off, which was a decision that was undoubtedly influenced by Knox and his colleagues. Indeed, these men sought to make Scotland a transplanted version of the Anglo-Genevan community,⁴¹ so they chose to use the more complete 1561 edition of the *Forme of prayers* as the foundation for the Scottish *Forme of prayers*, reprinting each psalm text and tune as they appeared in the 1561 edition. This would explain the textual differences between the Day and Lekpreuik editions, especially the reduced number of Hopkins' texts that appear in the latter (Table 3.1). Just as Day's *Whole booke* employed poets who would be sympathetic to metrical psalmody while encouraging the continuance of the English national church, Scots employed writers who were sympathetic to a uniquely Scottish Kirk.⁴² Specifically, Robert Pont and John Craig added several texts to the 1561 edition, which Scottish compilers paired with newly composed tunes or newly arranged tunes from French, German, English, and Italian sources. In addition, they restored many of the tunes from the 1556 *Forme of prayers* that had been removed in subsequent editions. Only after exhausting the Anglo-Genevan sources did Scottish compilers turn to the 1562 *Whole booke* to provide

⁴⁰ See Chapter 2, pp. 88-90.

⁴¹ Dawson, "Example of Geneva."

⁴² It should be emphasized that at this date the future direction of the Scottish Kirk was still far from certain. Though Knox and his supporters favoured a Genevan model, others supported Lutheran, English, and other models.

the remaining psalm texts and tunes.⁴³ Scottish efforts, therefore, distinguished their complete psalter as a clearly acknowledged extension of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers* and a rejection of Day's *Whole booke*.

Table 3.1: Authorial distribution in Day's 1562 *Whole booke* and Lekpreuik's 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*⁴⁴

Author	<i>Whole booke</i>	<i>Forme of prayers</i>
Sternhold	37	37
Hopkins	58	35
Whittingham	11	16
Kethe	9	25
Poullain	1	2
Norton	31	12
Marckant	4	2
Craig	0	15
Pont	0	6

While it may be difficult to discern the extent of Lekpreuik's editorial influence on his 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*, it seems clear from other evidence that Lekpreuik was a committed advocate of the Kirk, and much of his printing work through the 1560s sought to refute Roman Catholicism and advance Protestantism in Scotland. The decision, both by him and the General Assembly, to model this edition of the *Forme of prayers* after the Anglo-Genevan model reflected the importance of those psalm paraphrases to Scots since 1560. It also represented the Scottish rejection of English liturgical custom in favour of the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan liturgies.

3.3 Distinctiveness of the Scottish *Forme of Prayers*

While some of the differences between Lekpreuik's *Forme of prayers* and Day's *Whole booke* have been briefly described, it is important to take a closer look at the

⁴³ According to musical evidence within the *Forme of prayers*, Lekpreuik used the *Whole booke* and not the *Residue* to provide the remaining content for his 1564-5 edition. See Appendix B.

⁴⁴ These are the revised numbers according to Quitslund's analysis. *RR*, 293-297.

specific ways in which the two diverged. Both editions used the psalters printed by the Anglo-Genevan community as their foundations, but the difference between the two finished products is noticeable. This is largely due to the fact that the *Whole booke* used the 1558 *Forme of prayers* as the foundation for its psalm versifications and their accompanying tunes, while the Scottish *Forme of prayers* used the 1561 edition. With newly written texts and tunes added to the 1561 Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, the resulting differences between the *Whole booke* and the Scottish *Forme of prayers* were both textual and musical.

There were 44 different texts between the *Whole booke* and the *Forme of prayers*, and Table 3.1 shows the differences in authorial distribution. The most significant textual variations between the two editions centre on the distribution of versifications by Hopkins, Kethe, Norton, and Craig. As discussed in Chapter 2, Sternhold, Hopkins, and Norton dominated the psalm versifications in the Day psalters mainly because Day started with the 1558 *Forme of prayers*.⁴⁵ Lekpreuik, on the other hand, began with the 87 texts from the 1561 *Forme of prayers*, which included the new versifications by Kethe and Craig.⁴⁶ To these foundations, each printer first added the paraphrases of their local versifiers, and then filled the remaining gaps with the work of "foreign" versifiers. For Day, the foreign additions would have been the latest paraphrases coming from the Anglo-Genevan editions, and for Lekpreuik, these would have been the latest paraphrases from the Day psalters. As discussed previously, this is the reason that so many of Hopkins' and Norton's texts were not included in the Scottish *Forme of prayers*.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 2, p. 81-2.

⁴⁶ Many of Hopkins' later versifications duplicated Kethe's. Ibid.

Table 3.2: Metrical comparisons between the *Whole booke* and the *Forme of prayers*

<i>Whole booke</i> (1562)		<i>Forme of prayers</i> (1564-5)	
CM	133	CM	99
SM	4	LM	11
8.8.8.8.8.	3	SM	5
6.6.6.6.8.8.	2	8.8.8.8.8.	4
LM	2	10.10.10.10.	3
6.6.6.6.6.6.	1	6.6.6.6.6.6.	2
7.6.7.6.	1	6.6.6.6.8.8.	2
8.8.8.8.6.6.	1	8.8.8.8.8.	2
8.10.8.10.8.10.8.10.	1	10.10.11.11.	2
10.10.10.10.10.	1	5.5.5.5.5.5.	1
10.10.10.10.11.11.	1	6.6.6.6.	1
10.10.11.11.	1	6.6.8.6.6.8.	1
12.12.12.12.10.10.	1	7.6.7.6.	1
		8.6.6.8.7.7.	1
		8.8.6.8.8.6.	1
		8.8.8.8.6.6.	1
		8.8.8.8.8.8.	1
		9.8.9.8.	1
		9.8.9.8. 6.6.5.6.6.5.	1
		9.8.9.9.8.6.	1
		10.10.10.10.10.	1
		10.10.10.10.10.10.	1
		10.10.10.10.11.11.	1
		10.11.10.11.	1
		10.11.10.11.11.11.	1
		11.11.10.10.	1
		11.11.10.11.11.10.	1
		12.12.12.12.10.10.	1
		12.12.12.12.13.13.	1

Of course, authorial differences do not necessarily guarantee a unique product.

Connected with the authorial differences, there were significant differences in the metres used in the Scottish *Forme of prayers*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Day psalters mainly used CM in their paraphrases due to the marked influence of the original Sternhold and Hopkins paraphrases on English psalm culture. In a similar way,

Lekpreuik relied on popular Scottish metres to supplement those from Geneva. As Table 3.2 shows, this resulted in significantly different metrical content between the Day and Lekpreuik editions. While CM dominates both, Lekpreuik's psalter uses many more metres. Excluding the variants on the basic metrical units such as DCM and DLM, the *Forme of prayers* uses over 30 different metres that employ a wide variety of metrical feet, including iambs, trochees, amphibrachs, dactyls, and anapaests. Day's psalters, on the other hand, use only 13 metres, almost exclusively with iambic feet.

Besides the textual differences, Lekpreuik's 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* distinguished itself from the Day psalters in the tunes it employed. It adopted tunes from its Anglo-Genevan, French, and English predecessors; and it added some from German and Italian sources. The *Whole booke*, on the other hand, did not include any new adaptations of foreign tunes. Each of its originally Genevan and German tunes had already appeared in an English-language publication before the *Whole booke*. Thus, the only musical sources for the *Whole booke* were the Anglo-Genevan editions of the *Forme of prayers* and Day's own previous metrical psalters.⁴⁷ The musical content of the Day psalters therefore was more exclusively English, while the Lekpreuik psalter was more internationally diverse.

By including only 63 tunes for its 172 texts, Day's *Whole booke* exchanged the Genevan ideal of a unique tune for each psalm with one more concerned with simplification. Lekpreuik's *Forme of prayers*, conversely, restored the musical approach of the 1556 and 1561 editions of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, as it contained 105 unique tunes. This aligned it more with the Genevan ideal of uniqueness than the English ideal of simplicity. Though the Scottish *Forme of prayers* fell short of providing a unique tune for each psalm text, it had more tunes than any prior metrical psalter printed in the English language.

⁴⁷ See Chapter 2, pp. 96-8.

While Scottish compilers sought to use more tunes, they did not include every tune previously printed in an English-language metrical psalter. They replaced 12 proper psalm tunes from the Day psalters with another tune, and most of these are attributable to metrical differences and priority of source materials. Since it preferred Anglo-Genevan sources to English sources, the Scottish edition printed the Anglo-Genevan proper tunes for Psalms 1, 21, 52, 78, and 88. Metrical differences also forced compilers to either select different tunes or compose new tunes for Psalms 50, 59, 81, 132, 136, and 145.

Since Lekpreuik's psalter distinguished itself from its Day predecessors, it is important to consider Lekpreuik's contributors and their versifications. As with the new contributions to the Day metrical psalters, the new versifications in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* reveal some interesting biases and influences. Of particular interest are the paraphrases of John Craig and Robert Pont, as these did not appear in the English or Anglo-Genevan psalters. The following discussion provides a brief biography for each and considers their contributions to the Scottish *Forme of prayers*.

3.4 Robert Pont and his Contributions

Since his contribution was the smallest, discussion begins with Robert Pont and his six psalm versifications. Pont was from Culross and began his collegiate training at St Leonard's College in St Andrews in 1544.⁴⁸ He probably was present in the burgh when reformer George Wishart was burnt at the stake in 1546, but it is unclear when Pont first encountered Protestantism.⁴⁹ He must have made a name for himself before 1559, as that year he signed the Protestant declaration to assist the Lords of the Congregation in St Andrews. Shortly afterwards he became an elder at Holy Trinity

⁴⁸ James Kirk, "Pont, Robert (1524-1606)" *ODNB*, (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22507

⁴⁹ Both Pont and fellow reformer and minister John Row attended St Leonard's College, which was known for its reforming views. *Ibid.*

Church in St Andrews and served as a commissioner of the town.⁵⁰ With his minister and former Genevan exile Christopher Goodman, Pont was also a member of the first General Assembly, at which he was approved to be a minister. Since he was more focused on his legal career at the time, he did not immediately enter the pastorate. Two years later, in 1562, he received his first ministerial appointment to serve in Dunblane. After that, he continued to exercise notable influence within the Kirk as he received many different commissions and appointments. These included Pont's roles as Minister at Dunkeld and later St Cuthbert's Church beside Edinburgh; provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh; Commissioner of Moray, Inverness, and Banff; and six-time moderator for the General Assembly.⁵¹ Pont also translated the Second Helvetic Confession of Faith for the Assembly, helped prepare the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578), and wrote his own catechism among several other items.⁵² Besides those in the Kirk, government officials respected him as well. In 1572 he was made a Senator of the Court of Justice—the only minister allowed by the General Assembly to be a minister and judge simultaneously—and in 1587 King James VI tried to appoint Pont to the bishopric of Caithness.⁵³ The Assembly rejected the latter appointment on the basis that they argued that as a minister and presbyter he was already a bishop, but “...they were glad the King had such an estimation of so good a man...”⁵⁴

Regardless of such high esteem during his time, Pont's psalm paraphrases have been the focus of some modern criticism. One particularly caustic remark came from Millar Patrick, arguing:

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Christopher Fleet, “Robert Pont, Timothy Pont's father (1524-1606),” *Pont Maps Website*, National Library of Scotland, <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/bio/father.html>. Pont was the moderator of the General Assembly meetings in 1570, 1575, 1581, 1583, 1596, and 1597. John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 42, 55, 81, 103, 168, and 175; Kirk, “Pont.”

⁵² Pont's catechism was *Paruus catechismus* [STC 20105], and he wrote *De unione Britannie* [STC 20103] and some religious writings in the 1590s and after the turn of the century.

⁵³ Kirk, “Pont,” *APGA*, 2:812.

⁵⁴ Row, *History*, 133.

These [Pont's versifications] were mostly in peculiar metres...If he got the requisite number of syllables into the lines of his translations from the French, he does not seem to have cared whether they suited the music or not; his skill as a translator is as small as Kethe's or Whittingham's."⁵⁵

Patrick based his comments on an article by A.G. Gilchrist examining the poetic qualities of some of the metrical versifications in the Scottish *Forme of prayers*.⁵⁶

Indeed, some of Gilchrist's comments have become common in modern discussions of the metrical versifications by Whittingham, Kethe, and Pont.⁵⁷ While Gilchrist's article examined the poetic accents of the versifications, it did not provide much in the way of musical analysis—despite her constant conclusions that the texts did not fit their tunes. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Anglo-Genevan tunes certainly did fit Whittingham's texts and revisions.⁵⁸ As such, one wonders if Pont's versifications warrant such harsh criticism. Discussion of Pont's metrical psalm texts therefore will consider the relationships between his texts and their tunes.

The first question concerns the metre of Pont's texts. Of his six paraphrases, two use a commonly used metre. Psalm 57 employs DCM and Psalm 59 utilises LM—the same as Kethe's famous paraphrase of Psalm 100. Using the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* as representative of sixteenth-century Scottish poetry, even the seven-line metres of Pont's Psalms 76 (8.8.8.8.8.8.8.) and 83 (10.10.10.10.10.10.10.) were common, as seen in Appendix A. "We thank the God, of thy gudnes" is one of the many examples of the *Ballatis* that corresponds metrically to Pont's Psalm 76, and "Faithfull in Christ vse your riches richt" corresponds to his Psalm 83. Pont employs metres from the Genevan Psalter for his two remaining versifications, Psalms 80 and 81, so in that

⁵⁵ Patrick, *Scottish Psalmody*, 47.

⁵⁶ A.G. Gilchrist, "Psalm-Versions and French Tunes in the Scottish Psalter of 1564," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935): 208-13.

⁵⁷ In particular, the following by Gilchrist has been referenced by many: "But give Whittingham an English tune, and an English metre to fit it, and instead of breaking his teeth on the French metrical forms, how well he can use long, short, or common measure, as in his spirited Ps. 114, either as sung to its proper tune in the Scottish Psalter or to the tune we now know as the Old 44th." *Ibid.*, 210.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 1, pp. 52-9.

sense they may have been odd. Based on the metres of the *Ballatis*, his 9.8.9.8. 6.6.5. 6.6.5. metre for Psalm 81 probably was not commonplace in Scotland at the time, and the same was true of Psalm 80's 6.5.6.5. 5.5.5.5. metre.⁵⁹

While only two of his metres were odd for sixteenth-century Scots, the distribution of syllables in Pont's versifications was typical of sixteenth-century Scottish poetry. Situations in which poetic lines contained too many or too few syllables seem to have been frequent, so singers would have been accustomed to using elision or epenthesis as needed. One example of this occurs in Psalm 53:3, as Pont writes, "He will send downe from heauen aboue." Most likely, Scots would have elided the two syllables of "heaven," singing "heev'n," "hean," or "heien" so the text would fit.⁶⁰ Sometimes Pont also seemingly included too few syllables, but these are all resolvable by using the epenthetic practices common at the time. For example, in Psalm 83:4, Pont writes,

Go to say they,
and let vs vtterly,
This nation
Root out from memorie:

These lines of the psalm use four syllables followed by six, and the problem arises in the third line. In modern pronunciation, that line has only three syllables. However, as noted previously in the Anglo-Genevan psalters, singers often had to split a -tion ending into two syllables, rendering the phrase, "This na-ti-on."

Evidence from the *Ballatis* shows that Scots were accustomed to applying elisions and epenthesis in reciting their poetry. Consider the fourth stanza of "I come from heuin to tell" from the *Ballatis*:

He is zour rycht Saluatioun,

⁵⁹ However, even these Genevan metres may not have been too odd for Scots, when considering the other Irregular or less common metres (i.e. 11.11.11.12.10.10.10. and 8.6.8.6.9.6) found in the *Ballatis*. See Appendix A.

⁶⁰ Susan Renne, ed., "Heaven," *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>.

From euerlasting Dampnatioun:
That ze may Ring in gloir and blis,
For euer mair in heuin with his.⁶¹

With a metre of 8.8.8.8., the first line would have required the performer to divide the "-tion" ending in "Saluatioun." Forced to rhyme the first two lines, the reader would have had to elide "euerlasting" into "e'erlasting" so "Damp-na-ti-oun" could rhyme with "Sal-ua-ti-oun." The fact that other texts required singers to use these methods does not make Pont's poetry any better, however.⁶² Indeed, his metres are rough at times, and his rhymes descend into doggerel just as often as the other metrical psalm paraphrases.

While elisions and epenthesis were common in the sixteenth century, perhaps Pont's inconsistent use of these techniques has attracted some ire from historians. Psalm 80 has a concentrated number of prosodic inconsistencies that make performance difficult. In verses 8 and 9, Pont wrote:

A vine out of Egipt
thou broughtest with great cure.
Thou caste out the Gentiles
and plantedst it sure.
Thou cleansedst the grounde
and rootedst it so,
That all the whole land,
it fild to and fro.

Pont's verse demands a series of elisions to navigate it successfully, resulting in a prosodic and orthographic mess. The problem occurs in the second and third couplets of the stanza, which use consonance to bind the actions of God for his people. The second line of the stanza requires five syllables and necessitates an elision on the word "broughtest." However, the remaining elisions in the stanza seem contrary to this line. With elisions of the words "plan-tedst," "clean-sedst," and "root-edst," each becomes a

⁶¹ Quoted from *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, ed. A.F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1897), 49.

⁶² Even Hopkins struggled with placing the correct number of syllables in each line of his versifications. For an example, see the first stanza of his versification of Psalm 45.

two-syllable word. While the orthography is more helpful to singers in these couplets, their relationship to the first couplet is somewhat tenuous. "Broughtest" only occupies one syllable while the other three verbs occupy two, leaving the performer to question their natural inclination to create the consonance between the three couplets by eliding the "-est" ending of the other four verbs. However, these metrical problems are confined to Psalm 80. If this psalm was the focus of Patrick's ire, it is unfortunate he did not choose to phrase his criticism more accurately. Not only are his comments unfairly critical of Pont's metres, but they give the wrong impression of the exact problems one might face with Pont's psalm settings.

3.5 Pont's Psalm Versifications and their Tunes

None of Pont's texts appeared with a newly composed tune. Instead, compilers chose to pair his texts with the tunes from the "Lamentation" and Norton's "Ten Commandments" from the Day psalters, the tunes for Psalms 10 and 33 from the Genevan Psalter, the German hymn, "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland," and Coverdale's tune from Psalm 11. Given this and the required application of elision and epenthesis discussed earlier, it might seem reasonable to assume that editors shoehorned his texts into their tunes. However, this was not the case. While composers did not write new tunes for Pont's versifications, the melodies nevertheless suited his texts. As the famous "Old Hundredth" shows, even an adapted melody could be successful.⁶³ In an article on Pont's version of Psalm 83, Jamie Reid-Baxter briefly discussed the success of each of Pont's melodies, but few other individuals have given attention to the specific relationships between Pont's texts and their proper melodies.⁶⁴ This warrants further analysis of the musical-textual interactions, and the following discussion will consider and evaluate these.

⁶³ The tune "Old Hundredth" first appeared in the Genevan Psalters as the tune for Psalm 134.

⁶⁴ Reid-Baxter, "Metrical Psalmody."

The 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* recommends that Pont's Psalm 57 should be sung to the tune from the "Ten Commandments." Fitting the regular pattern of Pont's iambic verse, the tune's rhythm and melodic progressions are particularly well suited to Pont's text. The only deviations from the iambic pulse within the melody occur at the beginnings of the first and third lines (Figure 3.1). For instance, the first note—a semibreve—does not fit within the iambic foot of the verse, and the same is true of the semibreve that begins the third line. However, these longer notes would have seemed normal to sixteenth-century metrical psalm singers as collecting notes.

Figure 3.1: Incipit from Psalm 57 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]



1. And till these wick - ed stormes be past,
 3. He will send downe from heauen a - boue
 5. Ex - alt thy selfe, o God there - fore,
 11. Ex - alt thy selfe, o Lord there - fore,

While there are a couple of conflicts between the text and melody, these result from the psalm's stanzaic form rather than laziness or ineptitude by the compiler. One example appears in the first line of the third stanza. The skip from g to c¹ does not match its text, "send downe" (Figure 3.1). However, the skip suits many of the other stanzas well. In the first, it highlights the "wickedness" of the trials that are besetting the psalmist. The fifth and eleventh stanzas use the same interval to give a tangible feeling of the Lord's exaltation by pairing it with the text, "Exalt thy selfe, o Lord therefore." While the third stanza highlights some of the perils of setting stanzaic poetry to music, in this instance it is a small problem in an otherwise successful realisation of Pont's metrical psalm.

Pont's Psalm 59 has a unique tune that preserves the iambic stresses of the poetry through its melodic rhythm. Unlike the paraphrases by Whittingham and others in the Anglo-Genevan editions, Pont's regular verse does not need musical damage-

control. In the eight-and-a-half stanzas of Psalm 59, Pont broke from the natural poetic accent only once: at the end of verse 13. Pont writes, “Hath Jacobs God, to the worlds end.” The iambic stresses in this line create an unnatural emphasis on “the” rather than “worlds.” Considering it is the only problem throughout the psalm, it seems minor.

Figure 3.2: Incipit from Psalm 80 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]

1. The lin - age of Jo - seph, ad - uert and take hede:
6. Of all our next neigh - boures our harmes that haue sene.

Psalm 80 displays more problems that are attributable to its stanzaic form and original setting as a German tune. The transition between the first and second phrases of the second line in the Scottish adaptation is particularly awkward (Figure 3.2). The line employs an amphibrach foot rather than the more common iambic foot, and the first phrase of the tune does well to preserve its two amphibrachs by emphasising the second and fifth notes by making them a semibreve and/or approaching them with a leap. Most psalm tunes allowed for a pause at the midpoint of each line that normally coincided with the poetic hemistich, but this tune does not provide such a pause. Instead, it prints a semibreve at the beginning of the second phrase. This peculiar rhythmic variation pushes singers through the hemistich, creating some performance problems. Early stanzas of the psalm exacerbate this awkward musical-textual relationship, as many of them print punctuation at the hemistich—assumedly suggesting a natural pause in performance (Verse 1, Figure 3.2). Thus, singers expecting to be able to catch their breath at the midpoint of the line in these stanzas would have had little opportunity to do so without destroying the rhythmic flow of the line. The later stanzas mitigate this problem because of the lack of punctuation (Verse 6, Figure 3.2), suggesting that singers should not breathe between the two phrases. While this issue would have made performance awkward, there is a much larger

problem at the beginning of the second phrase. By beginning the second phrase with a semibreve, the melody gives the opening note rhythmic emphasis. This destroys the first amphibrach of the second phrase, pairing a dactyl-like musical rhythm with the amphibrach foot of the poetry.

There were some problems with the metrical accentuation employed in Pont's verses, and Gilchrist highlighted some of those issues.⁶⁵ However, Reid-Baxter has since noted that the tunes were particularly well suited to Pont's texts.⁶⁶ As with the Whittingham revisions of Sternhold and Hopkins texts in the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*, the tunes helped to mitigate many of the problems inherent in many of Pont's metrical versifications.

Some have raised concerns about how difficult Pont's texts were to perform. Patrick asserted, "some of his (Pont's) versions defy the efforts of even skilled choirs to fit them to their proper melodies," which strikes at the heart of the purpose for the Scottish metrical psalters. The Kirk intended people of all abilities to be able to use this psalter. If Pont's texts were difficult for skilled choirs to sing, it is hard to imagine how the Kirk could expect its untrained congregants to sing them. In particular, the practice of fitting English texts to French tunes and metres has received particular attention in the past.⁶⁷ Any insistence that this made performance of these metrical psalms in Scotland difficult, however, is mistaken. Analysis of Pont's texts and tunes shows that their styles aligned with other metrical texts and tunes in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*.

In the same way, Pont's work was not substandard nor was it too demanding of his

⁶⁵ Gilchrist, "Psalm-Versions."

⁶⁶ As one who has promoted a number of concerts of sixteenth-century metrical psalms, psalm settings, and hymn and canticle settings in Scotland, Reid-Baxter is particularly qualified to evaluate the relationship between these texts and their tunes. He notes, "Pont's Ps 57 to its originally French tune and Ps 59 to its 1562 English tune are not particularly distinguished, but his text for Ps 76 works well to its (German 1524) tune. Pont's anapaestic text of Ps 80 sings hauntingly to its (German 1524) tune, and in Ps 81 Pont displayed considerable ingenuity in fitting the text to the splendidly quirky French tune used for Marot's Ps 33." Reid-Baxter, "Metrical Psalmody," 47.

⁶⁷ Patrick, *Scottish Psalmody*, 47; Gilchrist, "Psalm-Versions."

singers. As examples from the *Godlie Ballatis* have shown, Pont's metrical psalms adhered to the styles of his contemporaries, placing no aberrant demands on his audience. In addition, his contemporaries in the Scottish Kirk respected Pont and his Biblical versification skills. It was no accident that when James VI asked the Kirk to revise the metrical psalter in 1601, the General Assembly asked Pont to complete these revisions.⁶⁸ The Assembly would not have made such a recommendation if they felt Pont's six previous texts demonstrated a fundamental incapacity to versify psalms.

3.6 John Craig and his Contributions

The other new contributor to the Scottish *Forme of prayers* was John Craig, who was born in 1512 in Craigston, Aberdeenshire, and whose father died in the Battle of Flodden shortly after his birth. He became a Dominican monk, but church leaders suspected him of heresy. After being cleared of that charge, he went to Cambridge and eventually on to Rome. Ironically, his time in Italy led to his eventual conversion to Protestantism. His appointment to a monastery in Bologna provided him access to Reformed teachings, as a library there held a copy of Calvin's *Institutes*. After reading it, he became convinced of the Reformed faith and began to express his approval of Calvin's ideas. Shortly afterwards, the Inquisition arrested him for heresy and sent him to Rome to be tried and executed, but Craig escaped from prison and made his way back to Scotland, arriving there in 1560.⁶⁹

Back in Scotland, he joined the Protestant cause, initially preaching at the Magdalen Chapel, where he was allowed to preach in Latin since his Scots had become rough in his 24-year absence from Scotland.⁷⁰ Once he was again comfortable with the vernacular, he became the minister at Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. Craig would serve

⁶⁸ Calderwood, *History*, 6:124.

⁶⁹ Craig's last hour escape from prison and his intriguing journey back to Scotland are recounted in Row, *History*, 457-61.

⁷⁰ James Kirk, "Craig, John (1512/13?-1600)," *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/6574.

the Kirk in a number of capacities, including the formulation of the *Order of the General Fast* and editing the *Form of Excommunication*. Like Pont, Craig was moderator for the General Assembly on several occasions, helped to draft the *Second Book of Discipline*, and wrote his own catechism.⁷¹

While Craig's Scots was improving in the 1560s, it is interesting that Lekpreuik and others compiling the Scottish metrical psalter asked him to provide some versifications. One might expect a lingering awkwardness with his metrical paraphrases due to his struggles with the vernacular, but this was not the case. In fact, Craig's paraphrases seldom fall short of the precedents set in previous versifications within the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters, as the following analysis will reveal. A glance over Craig's 15 texts reveals that only three deviated from the metres common in sixteenth-century Scotland.⁷² But, two of these, Psalms 105 and 118, had precedents in other metrical psalms within the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of prayers*. That leaves the curious 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4.-metred Psalm 136, as the only uncommon metre employed by Craig.

Unlike Pont, Craig was more consistent in his application of elisions. Verse 8 of Psalm 24 is a good example:

Who is this King so glorious?
 the strong and mightie Lord,
 Euen he that is victorious
 In battels tride by sword.

The word "glorious," does not need an elision since the line contains five other syllables in this CM text. Paralleling this prosody, the third line must use three syllables for the word "victorious," which forces an elision for "Euen." Though it requires the performer to look ahead at the line, this elision follows the syllabic distribution of the first line.

⁷¹ Craig's catechism was titled, *A Short Sum of the Whole Catechism* [STC 5966.5]. For more about Craig, his work for the General Assembly, and his dealings with Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI, see Kirk. "Craig, John."

⁷² These were Psalms 105, 118, and 136.

Each of its first five words is monosyllabic, and Craig repeats this in the third line by requiring an elision of the word "Euen." The division of syllables thus flows poetically and fits the question and answer format of the psalm text.

Despite Craig's consistent use of elisions, his paraphrases are not without their problems. In fact, one wonders if Patrick confused Craig and Pont when he criticised Pont for not including enough syllables in his psalms. While Pont's verses contained the correct number of syllables, Craig's sometimes did not. Psalm 105:39 is especially problematic:

The Lord, a cloude spread out,
to guide them by day:
And fire to light them
the night ouer all.

The third line has only five syllables, but it should have six. To make the text fit, singers must either slur two notes or lengthen the word "fire" to occupy two syllables. One could normally overlook one instance of awkward prosody, but this was not the only difficulty in this psalm, as verse 43 reads:

And brought foorth his people
(that were with wo lade)
His owne chosen children,
with ioyfull cheare.

In this case, the fourth line does not have enough syllables. Singers probably split the word "ioyfull" into three syllables, resulting in the undesirable pronunciation: "jo-y-full."

Like his predecessors, Craig used elisions and epenthesis to fit his texts to his metres. He also struggled with the consistent applications of these methods, and he was just as susceptible to crude rhymes as Pont, Hopkins, Norton, and the other versifiers included in the *Forme of prayers*. However, Craig was a former priest and preacher, not a poet. While his training undoubtedly included music and verse, he

sought to provide people with psalm translations that used metre to aid in memorisation and performance. It is thus no wonder that his verses were simple.

3.7 Craig's Psalm Versifications and their Tunes

Just as with the tunes paired with Pont's texts, many of the tunes paired with Craig's versifications were originally composed for other texts. However, these tunes also interacted well with Craig's texts. As one might expect, the most influential musical source for Craig's psalms were the Genevan and Anglo-Genevan psalters. Employing the Genevan melodies from Psalms 102, 110, and 118 for the first time in an English-language publication, compilers of the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* chose to print these tunes with the same Psalms, newly versified by Craig in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*. In addition, seven of the psalm tunes paired with Craig's texts—either as proper tunes or as tune suggestions—first appeared in the Anglo-Genevan editions with another psalm text (Table 3.3). Since these tunes were not originally intended for Craig's texts, it is important to consider how the texts interacted with them.

Table 3.3: Tunes Paired with Craig's Psalm Texts that Appeared in a Previous English-Language Psalter

<i>HTI</i>	Craig's Psalm Text	Original Psalm Text	Original Source
74	24	15	1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561]
140	56	70	1560 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a.5]
132	75	67	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a]
144a	105	104	1560 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a.5]
124a	117	127	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a]
136a	132	36	1560 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a.5]
126a	136	148	1558 <i>Forme of prayers</i> [STC 16561a]
176a	141	88	1562 <i>Whole booke</i> [STC 2430]

Craig used two different versification techniques for these three texts that were paired with Genevan tunes. First, his versification of Psalm 118 (Figure 3.3) reveals that he probably fitted this versification to the Genevan tune and metre. Among the

undesirable effects on Craig's versification of the psalm, this required an epenthesis in the fourth line to stretch the word "Aaron" to three syllables, but the bright and catchy tune helps to gloss over some of the more awkward passages. The tune uses either the same rhythm or a variation throughout, which provides a neutral backdrop for the text by allowing the natural poetic accents to take precedence. Also highlighting the natural emphases of the text's mostly iambic feet, the significant melodic leaps generally work with the text instead of against it. Perhaps the most helpful of these melodic characteristics, however, was stepwise descending pair of semibreves that appeared at the end of each nine-syllable phrase. This technique gave the sung text the same effect as a feminine ending in the French. While this could be problematic for English-language versifications, Craig's phrases generally accent the penultimate syllable.

Figure 3.3: Psalm 118:1 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]

1. Giue to the Lord all praise and honour, For he is gra ci - ous, and kynde:
Yea, more, his mer - cy and great fauoure, Doth firme a - byde world without end.
Let Is - ra - el now say thus bold-ly: That his mer - cies for - ev - er dure,
And let A - a - rons whole pro-gen - ie, Con - fesse the same sta - ble and sure.

Craig's other two texts paired with Genevan melodies suggest that Craig and the compilers of the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* were happy to modify the Genevan melodies and metres in order to suit his texts. The original metre for the tune from Psalm 110 was 11.10.11.10 in the Geneva psalters, but compilers modified it to fit Craig's 10.10.10.10. versification of the same psalm. Similarly, instead of retaining the

8.8.7.7.8.8.8.8. metre of the original tune from Psalm 102, compilers adapted it to fit Craig's new versification that used the metre 8.8.8.8.D.

Figure 3.4: Psalm 102:1 from the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]

Lord to myne hum-ble sute giue eare. And let my crye fore the ap - peare:
hyde not thy face this trou-blous tyme. But when I call, thyne eares en clyne:
mak hast to heare me (Lord, I pray) For lyke as smoke consumth a - way:
So are my dayes here on this earth, And all my bones partcht as an hearth.

The fact that Genevan metrical structures were not a constraining influence on Craig's versifications of Psalms 102 and 110 does not necessarily indicate that the tunes suited their texts. To consider these text-tune interactions, a closer inspection of the psalm settings is necessary. In particular, the first stanza of Psalm 102 (Figure 3.4) provides a representative example of the way in which Craig's versifications interacted with these modified Genevan melodies. As with the tune from Psalm 118 discussed earlier, the tune from Psalm 102 uses a basic rhythmic pattern throughout that employs a series of semibreves at the beginning and end of each phrase. While these series could vary in length, they provide a neutral backdrop for the melody and text by minimising any rhythmic emphases. The melodic intervals, however, do emphasise certain syllables. As the largest melodic intervals in the tune, the two upward leaps of a fourth that appear towards the end of the second line and at the beginning of the fourth line accentuate their texts. The leap in the second line often conflicts with the text's iambic pulse. While it suitably emphasises "thyne" in the first stanza, it awkwardly

highlights words such as “of,” “to,” and “as” in later stanzas. On the other hand, the leap at the beginning of the fourth line does follow the iambic foot of the text, so it has fewer conflicts with the poetry. One could question an accent on the word “are” in the first stanza, but later emphases on words such as “blent,” “Lords,” and “age” are appropriate. Other than these leaps, the tune progresses largely stepwise, again allowing the natural poetic accents to carry in each phrase. Despite minor problems, then, the Genevan melodies worked well with Craig’s texts.

The Anglo-Genevan tunes also suited Craig’s texts. As mentioned earlier, the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* paired seven of his texts with Anglo-Genevan tunes. Table 3.3 lists these along with the tune used for his versification of Psalm 141 as the tunes paired with Craig’s versifications that had previously appeared in an English-language psalter. Since the current discussion is concerned with the tunes that originated in the Anglo-Genevan editions, however, Psalm 141 and its tune in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* will be discussed later.

Chapter 1 considered the ways in which Anglo-Genevan compilers juxtaposed similar Psalm texts with a common tune, and the Scottish compilers largely followed this tradition. Of the seven tunes that had originally appeared in the Anglo-Genevan editions, however, those paired with Craig’s versifications of Psalms 75 and 132 were not chosen because there were connections between them and their tunes’ proper texts. The expression of faith and praise that God will judge the wicked while exalting the righteous found in Psalm 75 does not match the prayer for God’s blessing found in Psalm 67.⁷³ In addition, Psalm 132 asks God to fulfil his promises while its tune came from Psalm 36, which complains of the wicked and relies on God’s character for sustenance until the Lord destroys them.⁷⁴ Given the contrasting content and moods of

⁷³ *STC* 16577a, pp. 180, 214.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 95, 410.


both text pairings, the tunes for Psalms 75 and 132 probably were chosen for their metres, as these versifications used more unusual metres: Psalm 75 was 6.6.6.6.D. and Psalm 132 was 8.8.8.8.8. The 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* already had tunes using these metres, so it was probably easier for compilers to use these rather than composing new ones.

The remaining five Anglo-Genevan tunes used for Craig's texts, however, do create meaningful juxtapositions between their proper texts and Craig's versifications. For instance, the same tune pairs Psalms 15 and 24, which together describe God's people. As discussed in Chapter 1, Psalm 15 describes the person who will dwell with God.⁷⁵ The argument for Psalm 24 similarly asserts:

...yet towardes his [God's] chosen people his gracious goodnes doeth most abundantly appeare: in that among them he will haue his dwelling place, which thogh it was appointed among the children of Abraham, yet onely they do enter aright into this Sanctuarie, which are the true worshippers of God, purged from the sinful fylth of this world.⁷⁶

Since both psalms consider who will be able to dwell with God, compilers of the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* probably chose to use the same tune for both. Similar continuities appear in the other pairings, including Psalms 104 and 105—both of which praise God for sustaining his creation and people—and Psalms 136 and 148—which praise God for his love and power exhibited through creation and to his people.

Figure 3.5: Line 3 of Craig's Psalm 56 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]



[1] Eche day they striue to bring me lowe
 [4] And feare no whit what flesh do may
 [8] Are they not writ - ten great and small
 [10] To him wil I lift vp my voyce,
 [13] That I may walke, Lord, be - fore thee

⁷⁵ See p. 51.

⁷⁶ STC 16577a, p. 59.

In addition to these textual congruencies, the rhythms and pitches of the tunes fit Craig's texts. The tune suggested for Psalm 56 is a characteristic example, despite the fact that it seems to be an example of a conflict between music and text. The *Forme of prayers* recommends that the singers use the proper tune from Psalm 70 with the text for Psalm 56 (Figure 3.5). A quick analysis of the melody in the third line reveals that it would have suited metrical texts better using a trochaic foot rather than an iambic one. Beginning with a semibreve on the highest note of the phrase naturally stresses the first note despite the semibreve a^2 that follows it. The skip down to a minim f^1 highlights the third note, and the skip from g^1 to b^b2 underscores the fifth note. While the phrase closes with downward stepwise motion, it emphasises the seventh syllable because it is a semibreve that is preceded by four minims. However, this trochaic pattern often conflicts the text of Psalm 56. As Figure 3.5 shows, the text is iambic, which clashes with the musical accents. Verses 1-8 are the most awkward, while verses 9-13 fit the music better. The foot in these lines has not changed, rather Craig has used some words that could garner emphases without skewing the clarity of the entire line. In the case of verse 10, the melody stresses "wil", "lift", and "my," which highlight the psalmist's statement of faith that he will be able to lift his voice in praise of God during times of trial. However, this does not explain the conflicting musical-textual relationships in the earlier stanzas. Perhaps the psalm's argument in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* can provide some illumination:

Dauid being brought to Achis the King of Gath, 2 Sam. 21:12, Complaineth of his enemies, demandeth succour, putteth his trust in God & his promise. And promiseth to performe his vowes which he had taken vpon him, whereof this was the effect to praise God in his Church.⁷⁷

Interestingly, it is when David "putteth his trust in God & his promise" in verse 9 with the words, "This knowe I most assuredly, | For God the Lord he is with me," that the

⁷⁷ Though the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* lists II Samuel 21:12 as the reference for David's dealings with Achish, King of Gath, the encounter appears in I Samuel 21:12. Ibid., 155.

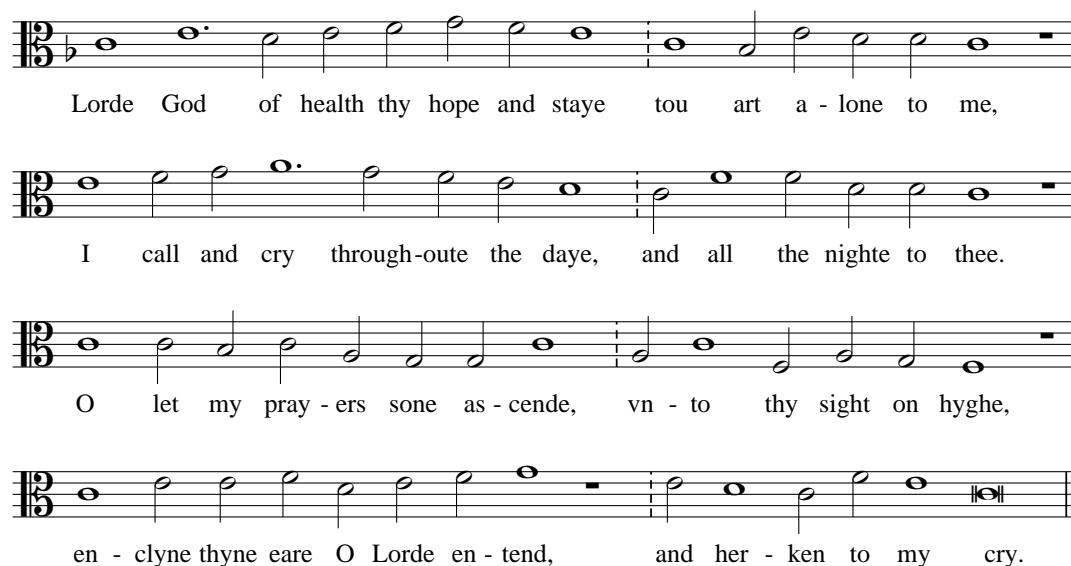
poetic and musical and textual accents align. The clashing musical and textual accents found in the earlier stanzas may therefore illustrate David's feigned insanity in the presence of Achish, King of Gath.⁷⁸ Despite these questions of accentuation in Psalm 56, the Anglo-Genevan tunes paired with Craig's text largely suited them well, as most provided meaningful parallels with other psalm texts and most fit the poetic accents of his versifications.

Table 3.4: Arguments from Psalms 88 and 141 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]

Psalm 88*	Psalm 141
A grievous complaynt of the faithful sore afflicted by sicknes, persecutions and aduersitie: being as it were left of God without any consolation, yet he calleth on God by faith and striueth against desperation, complaining him selfe to be forsaken of all earthlie helpe.	David being grievously persecuted vnder Saul, onely flieth vnto God to haue succour, desiring him to bridle his affections, that he may paciently abyde til God take vengeance of his enemies.

* The argument for Psalm 88 is identical to that in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

Figure 3.6: Psalm 88:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]



Lorde God of health thy hope and staye thou art a - lone to me,

I call and cry through-oute the daye, and all the nighte to thee.

O let my pray - ers sone as - cende, vn - to thy sight on hyghe,

en - clyne thyne eare O Lorde en - tend, and her - ken to my cry.

⁷⁸ David finds himself in a perilous situation in I Samuel 21, as Saul, the King of Israel, seeks his life and Achish similarly distrusts him because he killed Goliath, the Philistine champion from Gath (v. 11), whose sword David was carrying (v. 9).

Of Craig's 15 paraphrases, only Psalm 141 used a tune first printed in the Day psalters. The text that originally accompanied this tune, Hopkins' Psalm 88, displays similar content and sentiments as Psalm 141 (Table 3.4). However, the versions of the tune printed in the 1562 *Whole booke* and the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* are a bit different. Aside from some minor deviations in rhythm and pitch, the key signatures of the two differ.⁷⁹ While the 1562 *Whole booke* version prints a B \flat in the system, it does not preserve the flat beyond the first line (Figure 3.6). This flat probably was a misprint since Day's later editions did not keep the flattened system nor did they print accidentals for the B's in that first system. In addition, the sol-fa psalters labelled the printed b¹ as "mi" and c¹ as "fa," indicating the b¹ should be natural.⁸⁰ The result of this misprint in the 1562 *Whole booke* changes the categorisation of the tune. Assuming a natural system, the tune would be categorised as mode 12 due to its *finalis* on c¹, *ambitus* from f to a¹, and cadences and emphases on c¹, e¹, and g¹. These characteristics may have made the tune too bright and cheerful for the desperate cries for deliverance found in Psalm 88. Despite the apparent mismatch between the characters of the text and tune in the Day editions, Scots chose to use it for the similar text of Psalm 141. However, they kept the misprinted B \flat and extended it throughout the tune, which effectively changes it to transposed mode 8. In addition, Scottish compilers had to print e \flat ¹ towards the end of the first line in order to avoid a melodic tritone between b \flat ¹ and e¹ (Figure 3.7).

⁷⁹ For instance, the penultimate note of the English version—the smibreve e¹—was an error that the Scottish version corrected to a semibreve d¹.

⁸⁰ For example, see *STC* 2439.5, p. 57.

Figure 3.7: Psalm 141:1 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]

On thee I call, O Lord, there - fore, haste lest I be dis - mayde,

Oh, heare my voyce when as I roare, and crye to thee for ayde

My pray - ers in thy sight let be, as in - cense pure of price:

And eke myne hands lyft vp to thee as even - ing sac - ri - fice.

The reasons for replacing the Day tune from Psalm 141 in the Scottish *Forme of prayers* are not immediately obvious, musically. However, their texts may provide an important clue. As noted earlier, textual juxtapositions remained important for the compilers of the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers*. Its compilers most likely used the 1562 *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 88 because both Psalms 88 and 141 ask God for deliverance. In Day's *Whole booke*, the following accompanies Psalm 88:

A grieuous complaynt of the faythfull, sore afflicted by sicknes persecution and aduersitie: being as it were left of God without any consolation: yet he calleth on God by fayth and striueth against desperation, complayning him selfe to be forsaken of all yearthly healpe.⁸¹

The argument in the *Forme of prayers* for Psalm 141 similarly notes that David, who was being persecuted by Saul, "...flieth vnto God to haue succour, desiring him to bridle his affections, that he may patiently abyde til God take vengeance of his enemies."⁸² While Scots did not pair this tune with Psalm 88, they decided to pair it with a similar text in Psalm 141.

⁸¹ STC 2430, p. 215.

⁸² STC 16577a, p. 435.

Figure 3.8: Psalm 141:1 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

O Lord vp - on thee do I cal, Lord hast thee vn - to me,
 and her - ken Lord vn - to my voyce, when I do crye to thee,
 as in - scence let my prai - yer be di - rect - ed in thine eyes,
 and the vp - lift - ing of my hands, as euen - ing sac - ri - fice:

This may explain why Scottish compilers chose to pair the *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 88 with Psalm 141, but it does not explain why they dropped Day's proper tune from Psalm 141 (Figure 3.8). There are a couple of stylistic differences between the *Whole booke* tune for Psalm 141 and the one used in the *Forme of prayers* (Figure 3.7) that could provide some clues. The first of these differences concerns the rhythms employed in the two tunes. Similar to many of the other newer tunes in the *Whole booke*, the tune from Psalm 141 uses dotted rhythms, which form a rhythmic motif for the end of the first phrase of each line. Using dotted rhythms is rare for the tunes in the *Forme of prayers*, as only six psalm tunes found in the *Forme of prayers* employ dotted rhythms: Psalms 35, 61, 72, 77, 95, and 137. Interestingly, each of these tunes originated in the Day psalters, except Psalm 137, and none of them used a dotted minim. This suggests that the Scottish compilers preferred to avoid dotted rhythms in their new tunes, but allowed them for the ones brought in from England. Moreover, Scottish compilers did not print dotted minims in any of their tunes. In the two tunes from the *Whole booke* that originally appeared with dotted minims—the tunes from Psalms 35 and 147—Scottish compilers replaced the dotted minim and its following

crochet with two minims. Since the *Forme of prayers* smoothed out the rhythms in these two instances, they could have done the same for the original tune from Psalm 141. Compilers therefore probably had another reason for replacing it with the *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 88.

Comparing the melodic structures could provide further clues for the choice of one tune over the other, but both tunes place a B \flat in the system and stress many of the same syllables of each phrase. That is, Scottish compilers could have paired the new text with the proper *Whole booke* tune with minimal adverse prosodic effects. Despite these similarities, the two tunes clearly differ. The original *Whole booke* tune is brighter, with a *finalis* on f and an *ambitus* from c to c¹. Meanwhile the *Forme of prayers* tune has a higher *ambitus*— from f to a²—and a *finalis* on c¹. It also uses both B \flat s and E \flat s, and employs the scalar equivalent of a plagal mode, as its *finalis* appears in the middle of its *ambitus*.⁸³ While flats could darken the mood of a tune, employing a plagal mode could have a similar effect.⁸⁴ Perhaps then, Scottish compilers chose the more solemn *Whole booke* tune from Psalm 88 because it better suited the serious text of Psalm 141.

This leaves four tunes paired with Craig's texts that did not originate in the Anglo-Genevan, Genevan, and Day editions. The tune for Craig's Psalm 143 exists in a Vienna manuscript of 1392-1400.⁸⁵ Since Craig spent a significant amount of time in Italy, it is interesting that compilers paired one of his versifications with the only tune known to have Italian origins in the *Forme of prayers*. Given the amount of time Craig spent in Italy, it is possible he had this particular tune in mind when he versified the psalm. The three remaining tunes appeared for the first time in the *Forme of prayers*,

⁸³ As discussed earlier, the leap between b \flat ¹ and e¹ in the first line necessitates the E \flat .

⁸⁴ Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 11-12.

⁸⁵ "Tune: 168," *Frost*.

and two had a notable influence on Protestant hymnody for centuries to come. The most important was Psalm 108, which became known as "Old Common." Though an unremarkable tune, its simplicity probably made it a staple in Scottish metrical-psalm singing starting in the seventeenth century. The tune from Psalm 145, on the other hand, became popular in German hymnals, as Michael Praetorius adapted it in 1606 as the tune for "Ehre sei dir, Christe." Later English psalters and hymnals also adapted the tune to fit a number of metres and texts.⁸⁶ Since several tunes for Craig's paraphrases may have been composed for his metrical texts, he may have had a close relationship with the composer or arranger. It is also possible that either Craig wrote the tunes himself, or that he wrote his texts with particular tunes in mind.

Figure 3.9: Incipit from Craig's Psalm 140 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]



1. From the per - uerse and wick - ed wight,
 3. They whet - ted haue their tongues, as kene
 5. For lo, the proude a snare haue set
 7. O Lord my God, the strength and stay,
 9. Of those that com - passe me, o Lord,
 11 The Lord, I knowe, th'aff - lict - eds cause,

While some conflicts between Craig's texts and their tunes may have been intentional, others arise from their stanzaic form. For instance, consider the opening phrase for Psalm 140 (Figure 3.9). The first two notes suit an iambic text, despite the fact that both are semibreves. Naturally stressing the second note over the first and third notes, the leap of a fifth up to a¹ followed by the descent to g lends itself to an iambic text. However, the foot of the first few words of Craig's first verse is unclear. Normal prosodic accentuation would stress "From" over "the," but the opening two notes place equal emphasis on the two words. The result transforms an opening foot

⁸⁶ "Tune: 207." *HTI*.

formed by these two words from a trochee into a spondee, which provides a much smoother transition into the iambic feet of the remainder of the line. By employing a semibreve for the first note, the tune not only follows the established convention of supplying a gathering note at the beginning, but it also neutralises the accentuation problem of Craig's text. Moving stepwise with minims, the phrase de-emphasises the next two notes, giving further weight to the climax of the line on c¹. Two semibreves that descend stepwise to a¹ follow this climax. Thus, this section naturally de-emphasises the first and third notes, the first because of its length and pitch and the third because of its position at the close of the phrase. As opposed to the previous examples, Craig's text aligns with the musical accents. In addition, the proper words of each verse align with the climax of the musical phrase—"wicked," "tongues," "snare," "strength," "me," and "afflicteds," which aligns the meaning of each stanza.

The *Forme of prayers* provided more proper tunes for its psalm texts than appeared in the Day psalters, which gave the psalm texts in Scotland more unique musical expression. However, it is not enough to note that there were more tunes in the Scottish *Forme of prayers* than Day's *Whole booke*. As the evidence from Pont's and Craig's versifications suggests, the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* followed its Genevan and Anglo-Genevan forebears by pairing each versification with a proper tune or tune suggestion that matched its accentuation patterns and provided it with some sort of meaningful musical expression. Scottish compilers also continued to maintain many of the textual juxtapositions created by the Anglo-Genevans, while creating their own new juxtapositions. With so many tunes that were well suited to their texts, Scots could readily learn and memorise the metrical psalm texts printed in their psalter.

While the Anglo-Genevan editions of the *Forme of prayers* provided the basis for both the *Whole booke* and the Scottish *Forme of prayers*, the two complete British psalters were different in both textual and musical content. Each group of compilers

sought to produce unique metrical psalters that would reflect the tradition started by Sternhold and Hopkins as well as those of their country. For Day in England, this meant that the *Whole booke* was compatible with the Book of Common Prayer, and that it included the works of well-known English poets. On the Scottish side, Lekpreuik's edition supplemented the last Anglo-Genevan edition with paraphrases from well-respected Scots. The results of these decisions established competing English-language metrical psalm traditions in Britain that would never fully realign. Musicians and historians have neglected how the two coexisted, so the next chapters will evaluate this relationship as it developed to 1640.

CHAPTER 4: METRICAL PSALTERS THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Once printers in England and Scotland produced complete metrical psalters in the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition, they made only minor changes to the texts through the rest of the century. In England, the printer John Day owned the patent for printing metrical psalms, and they continued to sell well.¹ Because of their success and rapid assimilation into English society, there was little motivation for Day to change them. The Scottish book market, on the other hand, was much smaller, and so were the potential profits.² However, the continued use of the Scottish *Forme of prayers* in worship services ensured their survival through the century.³ This continued official liturgical use also produced a much more static set of psalter editions, as later psalters rarely deviated from Lekpreuik's original complete set of metrical texts.⁴

Despite the static nature of the complete Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalm texts in England and Scotland through the rest of the century, each country's consecutive printings contained distinguishable musical differences. Since these differences reveal that both countries preserved their independence from each other, they deserve closer inspection. The psalters printed in England consolidated their repertory of psalm tunes while expanding the selection of tune suggestions for most

¹ Ian Green estimates that there were around one million psalters printed and sold in England from 1560 to 1640. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 509.

² Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 7-8. In 1599, the printer and bookseller Henry Charteris had 3,300 psalm books in stock. This suggests that the Scottish psalter market was still fairly significant, however. Michael Lynch, "Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish Reformation," in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture*, ed. A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian B. Cowan (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 330.

³ When asked to start using King James' metrical psalm versifications in 1631, the Assembly responded in its "Reasons against the receaving of this new metaphrase of the Psalmes," that there were some 300,000 copies of the psalms available in print. . *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1836), 1:245.

⁴ The most significant change in subsequent editions was the introduction of some Scriptural canticles including the "Ten Commandments," "Lord's Prayer," and "Magnificat" in the 1570s. See Appendix B.

psalm texts. Scottish psalters, on the other hand, remained relatively static through to the end of the sixteenth century. Interestingly, a new series of psalters appeared at the turn of the century that sought to bring together the two traditions. The following chapter discusses these trends in the English and Scottish metrical psalters, and concludes by considering this final new set of psalters, also known as the Middelburg psalters.

4.1 Fine-Tuning Day's *Whole booke*?

Some have argued that the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters printed in England experienced musical simplification and a reduced tune repertory through the sixteenth century.⁵ However, little concrete evidence has been offered in support of this thesis. In order to test it, one must consider both the proper tunes and the tune suggestions printed in the editions leading up to 1600. The following discussion will first consider the proper tunes printed in the psalters through the end of the sixteenth century. Then, it will examine the tune suggestions printed in the same editions.

Beginning with the proper tunes, those paired with Psalms 30 and 130 are characteristic of the tunes printed in the Day psalters through the sixteenth century. Though both appeared in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, both continued to be printed in a majority of the Day editions through to the end of the century. Written in different metres, they also show how metre had little bearing on how the tunes changed in the sixteenth century.

The original version of the tune from Psalm 30 printed in the 1556 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16561] used 8.6.8.6.8.6.D metre, but the 1558 edition [STC 16561a] shortened the tune to DCM. Thus, the Anglo-Genevan editions had already changed it

⁵ Many have suggested this trend, but it originates from *MEPC*, 1:63-71.

before the tune reached Day in 1560.⁶ Day carefully copied the 1558 version in his 1562 *Whole booke*, and its melody (Figure 4.1) remained largely unchanged throughout John Day's psalters. However, minor variations did occur, and one of John's last psalters [STC 2468] provides two examples of these. First, it replaced the closing figure at the end of the third line with e-d-e (See cross, Figure 4.1). It also modified the third note of the final line (See asterisk, Figure 4.1) with a $b\flat^1$ instead of d^1 .

Figure 4.1: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]



After John Day died in 1584, his son Richard took over his psalter patents, due to a 1579 agreement with the Stationers.⁷ However, an earlier dispute between John and Richard left the latter without the means to print the psalters on his own.⁸ To produce his patented editions, he ironically turned to several of the printers who had filed complaints against his father about the quantity and value of his patents, including

⁶ For discussion of the influence of the 1558 Anglo-Genevan Psalter on the compiling of Day's psalters, see Chapter 2.

⁷ The agreement read, "Jhon Day and Richard Day and their assignes shall at all and eury tyme and tymes hereafter Enioye the sole and only imprintinge of the said psalmes in meter wth not accordinge to the tenor Lymitacon and meaninge of the Queenes ma pvilege and graunt to them in that behalf amonge other thinges made and granted: wout any lett clayme." Cyprian Blagden, "The English Stock of the Stationers' Company: An Account of Its Origins," *The Library* 5th ser., vol. 10 (1955): 184; Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24

⁸ Elizabeth Evenden, "Day, Richard (b. 1552, d. in or before 1606)," *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7371.

Edwarde White, William Wrighte, Thomas Butter, John Wolfe, and Frauncis Adams.⁹

This group of printers became known as the “Assigns of Richard Day,” but they did not maintain the reproduction quality of their predecessor, John Day. In fact, it is difficult to find a tune from the 1562 *Whole booke* that the Assigns that did not modify.¹⁰ To help illustrate the range of deviations that occurred under the Assigns’ control, discussion will consider the tune from Psalm 30. The closest variation to the original is the one printed in the 1598 *Whole booke* [STC 2493] (Figure 4.2). Between it and the 1562 *Whole booke*, only four notes differ. One of these differences occurs at the end of the first line, and the others appear in the third. When considering such changes it is difficult to discern which ones were printing errors and which reflected changes in performance practice. Normally errors that repeated in later editions could signify that a deviation represented a change in performance practice, but few of these changes appeared more than once. Therefore, the present discussion must rely on the musical value of the changes. Of its four deviations, only the rhythmic change at the beginning of the third line of Psalm 30 may be dismissed as a potential printer error, since it does not serve any practical purpose. The others make more sense to the flow of the melody. The similarity with the repeated minims towards the end of the second line suggests that the repeated f at the end of the first line may not be a misprint. Appearing in succession towards the end of the third line, the final two notes in the 1598 version are also melodically convincing. Therefore, most of these changes make musical sense

⁹ The members of the “Assigns of Richard Day” were listed in a court case from 1588, in which the Day Assigns charged William Ponsonby with piracy. Cyril Bathurst Judge, *Elizabethan Book-Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), 149-55.

¹⁰ As Elizabeth Evenden recently noted, some complained that even John Day’s psalters contained many errors. If that is the case, the editions printed by the Assigns were only worse, as they regularly deviated in varying ways from Day’s originals. In particular, Thomas Whythorne was one who complained about Day’s music printing. See Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 142-3.

and could have reflected variations in performance practice around the turn of the century.

Figure 4.2: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1598 *Whole booke* [STC 2493]

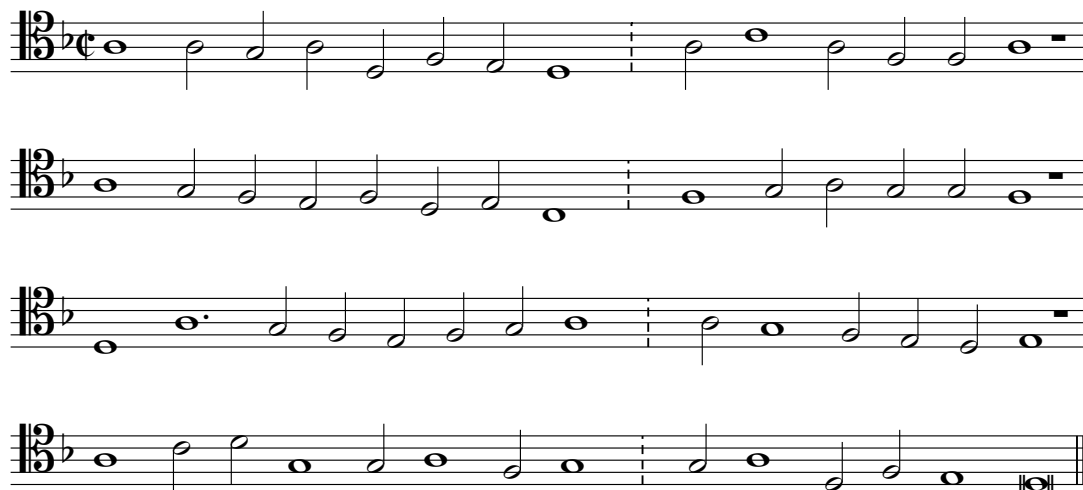


Figure 4.3: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1600 *Whole booke* [STC 2500.5]



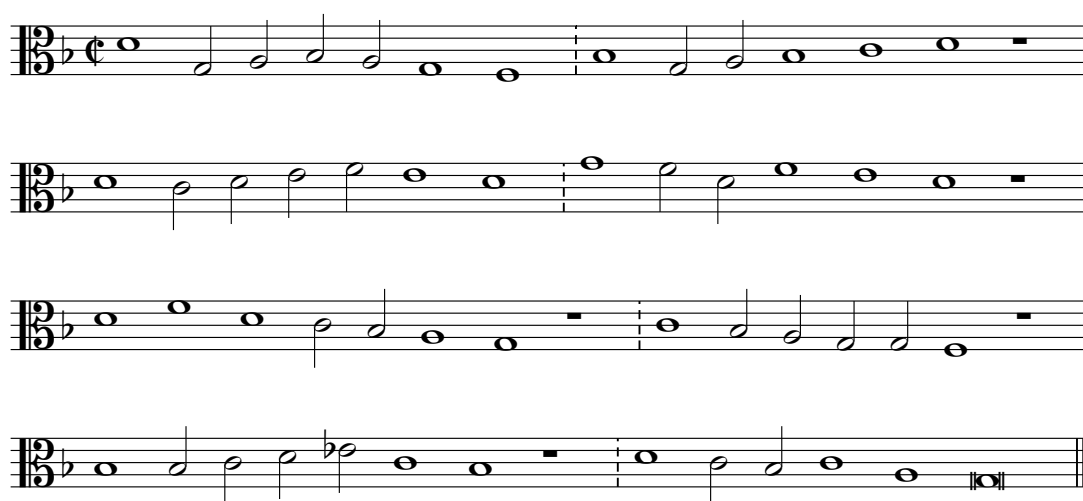
* This phrase is missing a note.

While the first variation remained similar to the 1562 original, a second example found in the 1600 *Whole booke* [STC 2500.5] is hardly the same tune (Figure 4.3). The most obvious of the discrepancies between the 1600 tune and the original are the opening note and *finalis*. These were the most important notes for sixteenth-century ears, and while deviating from the opening by a third may not have thrown too many singers, placing the *finalis* a second below the original *would* have been

confusing. In addition, the cadences of the third line and the first phrase of the second line are different. While still related to the original 1562 version, these deviations, in addition to the many other rhythmic and melodic changes, are enough to consider it a different tune.

Though discussion is fairly limited here, an examination of the other Day psalters printed from 1590-1600 would reveal that they printed a number of different versions of the tune from Psalm 30. Considering these psalters remained close to the original through the early 1580s, the proper tunes in the Day psalters may not have undergone any melodic or rhythmic simplification under his care. However, once his son took control of the psalter patent, the tune from Psalm 30 suggests that the proper tunes may have become more diverse.

Figure 4.4: Tune from Psalm 130 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]



The printed progression of the tune from Psalm 130 reveals a similar trend. This tune with the metre 7.6.7.6.D. originally appeared in the 1542 Geneva Psalter with the same psalm text.¹¹ Like the tune from Psalm 30, it also must have been a relatively popular tune since it appeared in most of Day's metrical psalters through the sixteenth

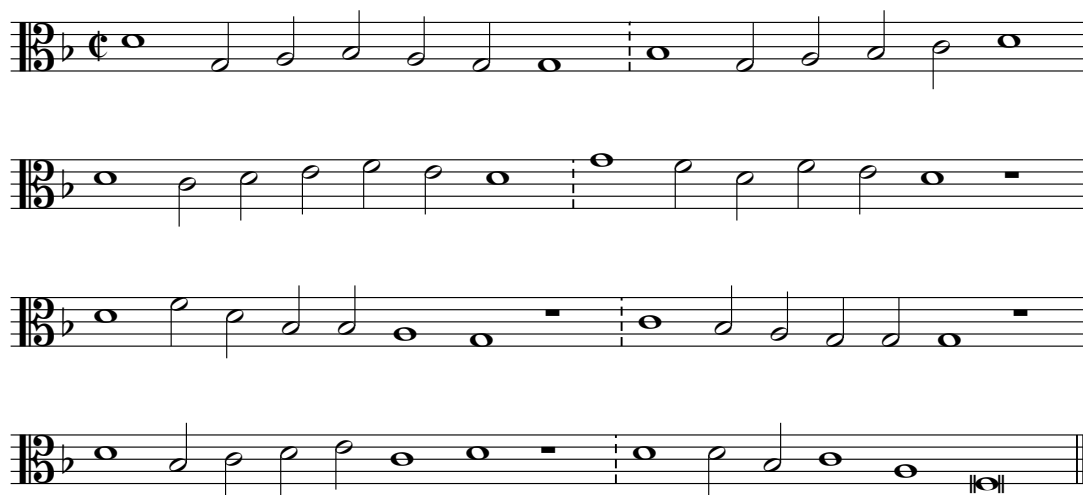
¹¹ "Tune: 149a," *Frost*; "Tune: 107a," *HTI*.

century. John Day's metrical psalters printed the tune with only minor rhythmic changes, but after his death more significant melodic changes began to appear.¹²

The tune printed in a 1592 edition of the *Whole booke* (Figure 4.5) represents the smaller changes that appeared in the psalters printed by the Assigns of Richard Day.

Compared with the 1562 version (Figure 4.4), the 1592 version has some minor rhythmic changes. Though the 1562 version incorporated a number of semibreves beyond the usual gathering notes and cadences, none of these resulted in syncopation. Rather, they were used as a method of slowing the melody. The rhythmic changes in the 1592 version thus may have resulted from an effort to speed up performance.

Figure 4.5: Tune from Psalm 130 in the 1592 *Whole booke* [STC 2480]



Its changes in pitch, however, may have been intentional or accidental.

Exchanging the $b^{\flat 1}$ with d^1 at the beginning of the fourth line avoided the repeated note at the beginning of that line and provided some continuity with the other lines, which all begin on d^1 . While this change may have been intentional, the others make less musical sense, indicating they may have been misprints. In particular, the changed *finalis* to f does not make sense in the context of the cadences on g and d^1 that otherwise suggest mode 1. The $e^{\flat 1}$ also in the fourth line instead of the $e^{\flat 1}$, however,

¹² For example, see STC 2467, pp. 364-5.

could be an effort at simplification by removing the second flat and the brief emphasis on B \flat in that first phrase. Instead of mixing mode 11 with mode 1 in the original, this change in the 1592 tune (assuming the misprinted *finalis* on f should be on g) would be classified simply as mode 1. While one could argue that the e \flat ¹ is implied through rules of *musica ficta* by the b \flat ¹ that appears three notes before it, the phrase's modified emphasis on d¹—instead of b \flat ¹—at the beginning and end would not necessarily demand the use of *ficta* in this case.¹³ As later discussion will show, in fact, the use of *ficta* for unharmonised psalm tunes in England is suspect.¹⁴ One must therefore conclude that the changes made in the 1592 version of Psalm 130—aside from the obviously errant *finalis*—could have been intentional modifications rather than misprints.

These changes also potentially could change the character of the tune and its scalar constructs based on the *finalis* and flats, but the tune nevertheless remained audibly similar to the original. Another set of deviations appear in the version printed in a 1595 edition of the *Whole booke* (Figure 4.6) that may have caused some users to wonder if it was the same tune. Though the majority of this version is similar to the 1562 version, differences in the opening phrase could have confused some. The descending two-note motif that is repeated a third higher in the first phrase instead of the scalar ascent in the original may not have caused too many problems, but this in combination with the displaced penultimate note could have caused confusion, at least for the first stanza. Once this variation had been sung through once, the confusion

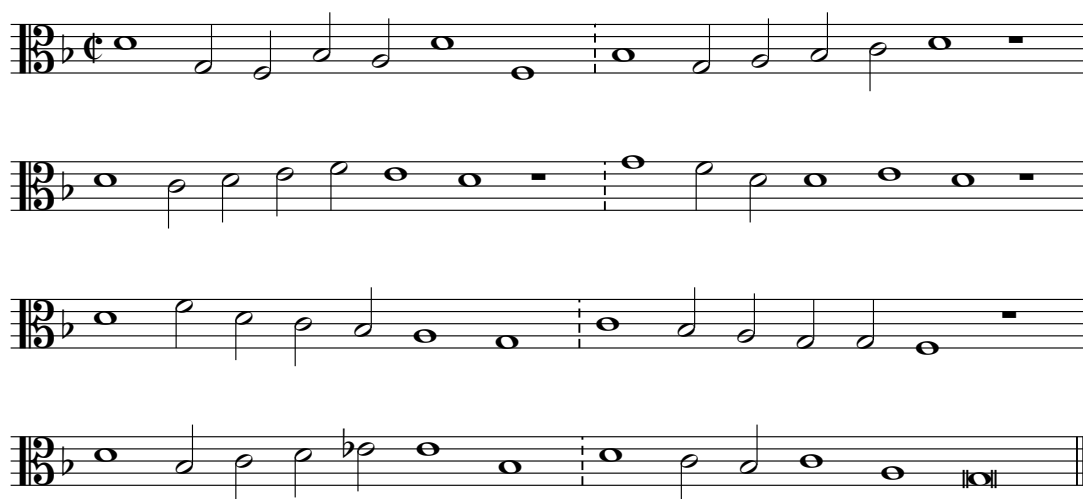
¹³ *Musica ficta*, or “false music” was a phrase first used in the late-twelfth century by music theorists to describe the practice of changing a note by a half step to avoid dissonant harmonies and intervals, especially the tritone. It was also used to create leading tones leading up to cadences. For a general introduction, see Karol Berger, “Musica ficta,” in *Performance Practice: Music Before 1600*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989), 107-25.

¹⁴ See Chapter 6, pp. 263-5.

probably disappeared since the final three lines more closely followed the original.

Aside from some clear misprints, these variations in printed tunes for both Psalms 30 and 130 reflect the diversity in performance practice in English psalm singing at the end of the sixteenth century, which will be considered in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.6: Tune from Psalm 130 in the 1595 *Whole booke* [STC 2489]

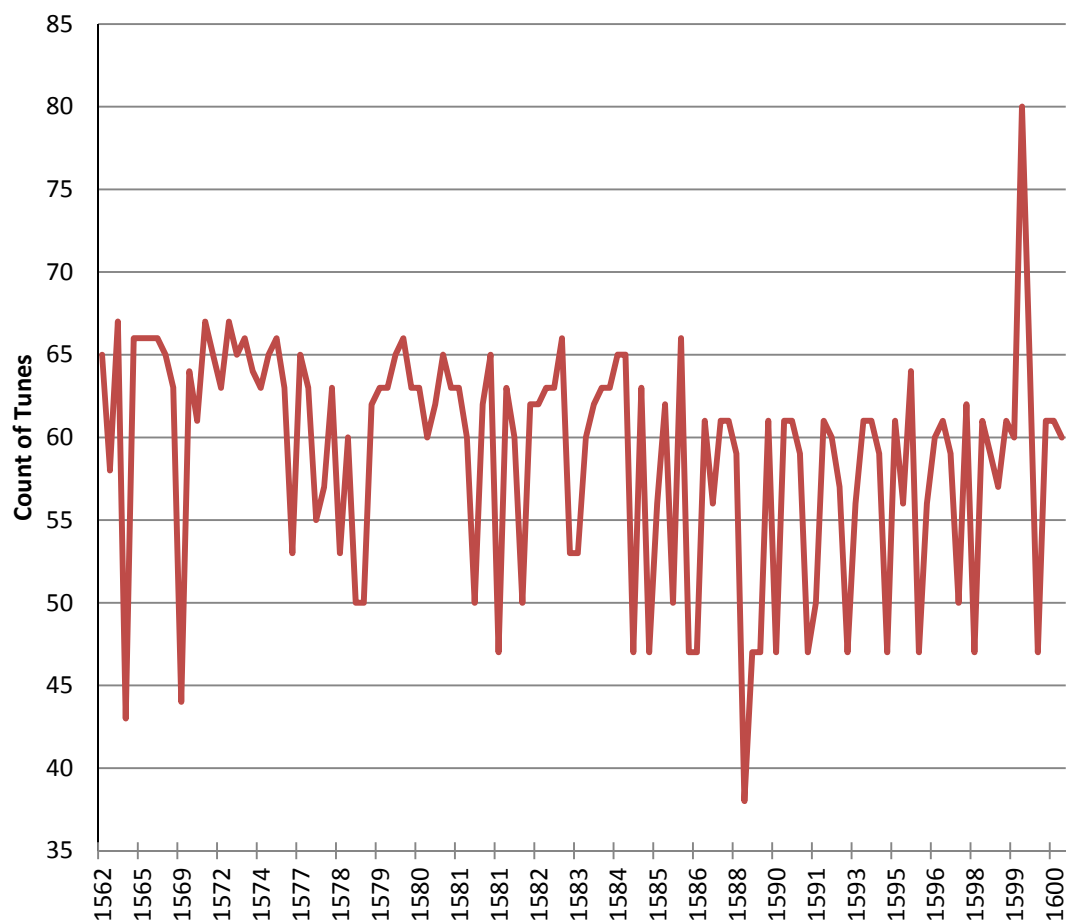


It is difficult to argue that there was a general trend of simplification towards the end of the sixteenth century based on these examples. In fact, the above psalm tunes suggest that the proper psalm tunes in England actually became more diverse at least in print. While there may have been some efforts to simplify the tunes rhythmically and to speed them up—as seen in the examples of Psalm 130—this was not applied consistently throughout the Day editions toward the end of the century. More importantly, these are just two examples of how the Assigns continually modified all of the printed psalm tunes in their editions.

Another way in which the Day psalters could have simplified their musical content is in the number of proper tunes printed in each edition from 1562 to 1600 (Figure 4.7). Since the exact print dates for many of the Day psalters remain uncertain, this graph is accurate only to the year in which John or his successors printed each psalter. Despite this limitation, however, an important pattern still emerges. Though

some of the psalters included less, most of the Day psalters printed before his death in 1584 contained over 60 proper tunes. After John's death, the Day psalters polarised between two types, the complete and abridged musical versions. Not only did these psalters differ in the number of tunes they included, they also varied in their sizes.¹⁵ Without exception, the psalters printed after 1583 with fewer than 50 proper tunes appeared in octavo format. Those psalters with 50 or more tunes appeared in various other formats, but rarely as an octavo.¹⁶ Interestingly, this pattern supports Ian Green's observation that psalter editions should be grouped according to size.¹⁷

Figure 4.7: Count of printed tunes from the Day metrical psalters from 1562-1600



¹⁵ Printers varied psalter sizes so they could be bound with Bibles and/or Prayer Books.

¹⁶ The octavo editions of 1592 [STC 2481.5], 1596 [STC 2490.7], 1599 [STC 2497.7], and 1600 [STC 2500.7] printed 60 proper tunes.

¹⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 508-9.

Besides these complete and abridged versions that appeared after 1584, there are some interesting tendencies about the pre-1584 Day psalters. They generally had more tunes than those printed after 1584, and this fits the simplification thesis. However, the abridged psalters after 1584 had more tunes than the abridged versions had before 1584. Thus, while the maximum number of proper tunes printed in the Day editions decreased through the sixteenth century, the minimum number increased. This does not then suggest the Day psalters minimised the number of proper tunes. Rather, it implies that printers consolidated the musical content printed in the metrical psalters.

In addition to the proper tunes, the tune suggestions deserve consideration. Despite the valuable efforts of Maurice Frost and Nicholas Temperley to catalogue the tunes in the metrical psalter, both have neglected the tune suggestions printed with most of the metrical texts. Though it is difficult to prove how often singers followed these suggestions, modern discussions should not dismiss them altogether. The evidence indicates that singers may have followed many of these suggestions, and the suggestions challenge modern views of many of the extant printed editions.

For example, consider the set of psalters under the *HTI* label "*P E24." Day printed this collection of five psalters from 1579 to 1583 under the title *Whole booke of Psalmes collected into Englishe Metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whittingham, I. Hopkins, and others...* [STCs 2452, 2454, 2457, 2466.5, and 2467]. Two of the psalters, the 1583 [STC 2466.5] and 84 [STC 2467] versions, are very similar except for nine differences in tune suggestions, as shown in Appendix B.¹⁸ Due to similarities in note spacing, spelling, and page breaks, it would be easy to group these two editions together as the same edition, but the differences in tune suggestions indicate otherwise.

¹⁸ The tunes suggested for Psalms 20, 23, 27, 39, 49, 74, 75, 90, and "A Thanksgiving after receiving the Lord's Supper" were all different between these two editions.

The other psalters within the *HTI* "*P E24" designation also have some differing tune suggestions. Perhaps the psalter that most closely resembled the earliest version printed in 1579 was the 1581 version. The 1581 version corrected many of the mistakes from the earlier edition by providing tune suggestions for psalms that it neglected, including Psalms 106, 109, and 112. In addition, the 1579 version recommended the tune from Psalm 30 for Psalm 45, but the Day psalters traditionally paired that psalm text with the tune from Psalm 25. Whether this or any of the departures in the other two editions were unintentional or an attempt at innovation and variety is difficult to judge. As this chapter and the next show, the frequent variations and mismatches make distinguishing between these two possibilities problematic. However, in this case the change seems to have been a mistake since the following psalters, including the 1581 edition, returned to the traditional tune of Psalm 25.

The text for Psalm 26 provides another example of varied tune suggestions in the "*P E24" editions.¹⁹ Day's 1562 *Whole book* pairs the tune from Psalm 18 with Psalm 26, but later editions in the 1560s reveal that Day commonly printed other tune suggestions for this psalm text. In his 1565 edition of the *Whole booke* [STC 2435], Psalm 26 appears with the recommendation to use the tune from Psalm 30, and the 1567 edition [STC 2438] suggests the tune from Psalm 14. Reiterating Day's suggestion in the 1562 *Whole booke*, the 1570 edition [STC 2441] suggested the tune from Psalm 18. Returning to the "*P E24" psalters, the 1579 version follows the 1565 *Whole booke* by suggesting the tune from Psalm 30, but the rest of the psalters in the collection recommend the tune from Psalm 14.

Admittedly the "*P E24" metrical psalters are not as helpful in determining whether or not there was musical simplification in the Day metrical psalters in the

¹⁹ See Appendix B.

sixteenth century, as the last edition of this group appeared in 1584. However, this brief discussion is important for establishing two important points. First, despite the relatively small variations in the “*P E24” *HTI* group, each edition varied from the 1579 original and should therefore be considered as a separate musical collection.²⁰ Secondly, the above discussion reveals that the number of tunes that could be suggested for a particular text increased through the 1580s. In fact, up to 1604, the Day metrical psalters printed or suggested multiple tunes for all but 10 metrical psalm texts.²¹ This supports statements in previous chapters arguing that it was common to mix and match texts and tunes in English psalm practice.²² While this places the simplification theory in doubt, it is important to consider if the tune suggestions continued to diversify in the last decade of the century. To do this, the following discussion will consider the suggestions for two representative psalm texts—Psalms 6 and 117.

Day originally printed the first of these psalms, Psalm 6, with its own tune. Though the text and proper tune first appeared in the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, the tune did not enjoy the same widespread use as many of the other Anglo-Genevan psalm tunes. Nevertheless, Day’s 1564 editions of the *Whole booke* [STC 2432] and *The First Parte of the Psalms Collected into Englyshe Metre* [STC 2433] both recommended the use of this tune when singing Psalms 7 and 11.²³ These suggestions did not remain, however, as the 1565 *Whole booke* [STC 2434] returned to the original recommendations for those two psalms, that of the tune from Psalm 3. Just four years later, the proper tune from Psalm 6 disappeared from Day’s *Whole booke* [STC 2439.5] and was replaced by the tune from Psalm 1. This change was not permanent either, as

²⁰ Historians should also use caution not to assign more weight to the content and groupings of the *HTI* than Temperley gives it. His wording for later editions within a group, “Later sources with identical tune contents” is an apt description of each group’s contents.

²¹ See Appendix C.

²² See also Chapter 6, p. 253.

²³ See Appendix B.

the tune reappeared in the 1570 *Whole booke* [STC 2441]. Through the rest of the decade, Day's psalters alternated mainly between printing the proper tune for Psalm 6 and suggesting the tune from Psalm 1 for the text of Psalm 6. Later, Day's psalters added the tune from Psalm 137 as another possible tune suggestion for the text of Psalm 6.²⁴ This marks a departure from what had been a point of emphasis in previous metrical psalters, which was their ease of use.²⁵ By recommending a tune that was so separated from its text, the Day psalters were probably beginning to reflect the practices of the populace.

These two competing tune suggestions, not the proper tune, dominated the musical settings for Psalm 6 in the Day psalters in the 1580s. In fact, none of the Day editions between 1583 and 1591 printed the original tune. Since John Day died in 1584, his son, Richard, was responsible for the majority of these editions. Nonetheless, it is significant that the proper tune from Psalm 6 was missing from these psalters for such an extended time, as they were the most influential metrical psalm publications in England.

Despite this shift, the newly suggested proper tune from Psalm 137 for the text of Psalm 6 was a suitable choice following the standards established in the Anglo-Genevan psalters.²⁶ Psalm 137 is the famous song of nostalgic despair in the face of Babylonian mockery that asks God to take revenge on the captors of Israel. As one of the penitential psalms, Psalm 6 is a prayer to God for physical and spiritual healing and deliverance. David begins, asking:

Lord in thy wrath reprove me not,
though I deserue thine ire:
Ne yet correct me in thy rage,
O Lord I thee desire.

²⁴ This tune suggestion first appears in STC 2456. See Appendix B.

²⁵ See Chapter 2.

²⁶ See Chapter 1, pp. 52-9.

Though he has obviously done something to warrant the Lord's discipline, David asks the Lord to show mercy instead. His physical suffering for his mistake forces him to ask the Lord for healing, as he realises that he longs for the Lord more than anything else. To add to the misery of the psalmist, many around him oppress him, so he also asks the Lord for deliverance from their hands.²⁷ Since both Psalms 6 and 137 are pleas for rescue, their juxtaposition through a common tune is logical.

On the other hand, editors probably based their decision to juxtapose Psalms 1 and 6 on convenience and ease of use rather than theological parallels. Psalm 1 declares the blessings that come to those who "geue themselues wholly all their life to Gods lawe,"²⁸ and Psalm 6 is a plea for relief. While Psalm 6 could serve as a warning to those who ignore the Law as described in Psalm 1, this is a stretch. Thus, using the tune from Psalm 1 for the text of Psalm 6 may have been a practical decision, based on proximity, as discussed in Chapter 2.²⁹

While the tune repertory for Psalm 6 in the Day psalters was fairly static through the majority of the sixteenth century, the evidence suggests that it expanded towards the end of the century. Two other tune choices surfaced towards the end of the 1580s, including a new proper tune in the 1588 *Whole booke* [STC 2475.2] and a new tune suggestion in the 1589 *Whole booke* [STC 2476]. The new proper tune became popular at the turn of the century, but few psalters printed it before the Middelburg psalters of 1599 and 1602. In a similar way, the new tune suggestion of Psalm 3 appeared with several other psalm texts around the turn of the century, but the Day psalters did not pair it again with Psalm 6 in the 1590s. Despite such

²⁷ The argument from Psalm 6 confirms this interpretation of the Psalm: "When Daud by hys sinnes hathe prouoked Gods wrathe, and nowe felt not only hys hand against hym, but also conceyued the horrors of deathe euerlastyng: he desireth forgeuenes, bewayling that if God toke him away in hys indignation, he shoulde lacke occasion to praise him as he was wonte to doo whilest he was amongst men. Then sodeinly felying Gods mercy, he sharply rebuketh his enemyes, which reioyseth in hys affliction." STC 2430, p. 9.

²⁸ Ibid., [1].

²⁹ See p. 90.

diversification in the 1580s, the Day psalters under the control of Richard Day and his assigns largely returned to their origins in the 1590s. They mainly used the initial proper tune or tune suggestion of Psalm 1, and a couple of editions [STC 2477.7 and STC 2487] recommended the tune from Psalm 137.

The versification of Psalm 117, on the other hand, was a surprisingly late addition to the Day psalters considering it is the shortest chapter in the Bible. The text by Thomas Norton first appeared in both the 1562 *Whole booke* and *Residue*.

Interestingly, the Day psalters of the sixteenth century paired it with more tunes than most other metrical texts.³⁰ Day's two 1562 psalters recommended the tune from Psalm 95 for the text of Psalm 117, and that recommendation carried through the 1564 edition of the *Whole booke* [STC 2432]. The other metrical psalter of 1564, titled the *First Parte of the Psalmes Collected into Englishe Metre* [STC 2433], recommended the tune from Psalm 100 commonly called "Old Hundredth." As noted by many in the past, Day's 1562 psalters curiously omitted this tune. However, his 1561 *Psalmes of David* and 1563 harmonised psalter both included it.³¹ Although this tune is the most familiar tune from those early Day psalters, modern composers and arrangers rarely use it with any psalm other than Psalm 100. The same was the case for the Day metrical psalters, which rarely used the tune from Psalm 100 as a suggestion for other metrical psalm texts.³² The 1564 *First parte* paired it with Psalms 117 and 134, but those were short-lived suggestions that did not reappear through the rest of the century.

The next year, the *Whole booke* [STC 2434] recommended the tune from Psalm 98 for Psalm 117. Since it also suggested the tune from Psalm 95 for Psalm 98, this did not have an immediate impact on the tune used for Psalm 117. Readers would have

³⁰ See Appendix B.

³¹ Ibid.

³² There were two notable exceptions to this in the Day line of metrical psalters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both "An Exhortation vnto the praise of God to be sung before Morning Prayer" and "An exhortation vnto the praise of God to be sung before Euening prayer" often appeared with the suggestion to use the tune from Psalm 100. Ibid.

turned to Psalm 98 after seeing the suggestion printed for Psalm 117, and they would have continued to turn to Psalm 95 based on 98's recommendation to use the tune from Psalm 95. Around 1569, the Day psalters suggested the tune from Psalm 103 as another alternative for Psalm 117, and the total number of suggested tunes for Psalm 117 reached four in 1571.³³

Since the text of Psalm 117 often appeared with the suggestion to use the tune from Psalm 95, any variations to the tunes printed or suggested for Psalm 95 had an effect on Psalm 117 as well. The proper tune from Psalm 95 appeared less often in the Day psalters after the early 1570s, and the tune from the Benedictus often replaced it. Other alternatives appeared towards the end of the 1570s and into the 1580s. A 1577 edition [*STC* 2449.5] replaced it with the tune from Psalm 69, and a 1585 edition [*STC* 2470a] used the tune from Psalm 77 for Psalm 95. Similarly, the 1576 edition of the *Whole booke* [*STC* 2446] suggested the tune from Psalm 111 for the text of Psalm 117, but it dropped the proper tune from Psalm 111 and replaced it with the tune suggestion of Psalm 77. Therefore, that edition probably intended users to sing Psalm 117 using the tune from Psalm 77.³⁴ By the end of the century, the Day psalters had printed ten different tune recommendations for Psalm 117,³⁵ and five of those appeared in the last decade. As with the tune repertory for Psalm 6, this evidence does not support Temperley's consolidation thesis.

As shown in the tune suggestions of the “*P E24” psalters, the tune selections for Psalms 6 and 117 expanded in the 1570s and 1580s, but the suggestions for these two psalms declined in the 1590s. In that sense, these examples would support the thesis of consolidated and simplified musical content in the Day psalters towards the

³³ The *STC* estimates that *STC* 2439.5 was printed in 1569, and *STC* 2442 added the tune from Psalm 111 to the mix in 1571.

³⁴ Often the psalters would interchange the tunes of Psalms 77 and 81. Since the two tunes are essentially the same, Psalm 77 has been used for clarity.

³⁵ The tunes included Psalms 44, 69, 77, 78, 95, 100, 103, 103 (new tune in *STC* 2475.2), 111, 119, and the “Benedictus.”

end of the sixteenth century. However, several psalms could act as counter-examples to the thesis. Psalm 8 appeared with two different tunes before 1590 but with five tunes from 1590-9. Paired with four different tunes before 1590, Psalm 38 appeared with six different tunes from 1590-9.³⁶ Similarly, the progression of tunes and suggestions paired with Psalm 6 suggest an expanding tune repertory. Day's psalters originally printed Psalm 6 with a proper tune. While the tune's disappearance in the 1580s supports the thesis, its reappearance towards the end of the century indicates these psalters did not simplify or consolidate their musical content as suggested. In a similar way, the Day metrical psalters of the 1590s printed at least four different tune suggestions for Psalm 117, but they printed only three tunes in the 1560s. This evidence from the tune suggestions places the theory that editors simplified musical content in the Day psalters through the sixteenth century on shaky ground.

Instead of simply arguing that the musical content in the Day psalters simplified towards the end of the sixteenth century, the previous examples warrant a more nuanced view. The content of the proper tunes showed signs of expansion, in terms of rhythm and pitch, while the quantity of proper tunes consolidated towards the end of the sixteenth century. The tune suggestions from the Day psalters show a similar trend of consolidation towards the end of the sixteenth century, despite the expansion of tunes suggested in the 1570s and 80s. Therefore, melodic and rhythmic diversification in the proper tunes offset any simplification in tune suggestions that occurred towards the end of the sixteenth century. This means that the sixteenth-century Day psalters drifted towards a consolidated repertory of proper tunes that included many different versions of each tune. These proper tunes could be paired with a number of texts, but that number slightly decreased towards the end of the century. Perhaps even more

³⁶ Similar patterns can be seen with Psalms 1, 22, 59, 131, 136 (both versions), and 145. See Appendix B.

importantly, a singular musical version of the Day metrical psalter had not emerged by the end of the sixteenth century.

4.2 Diversification of Printed English Metrical Psalters

This diversity in the printed editions of the Day psalters suggests a widely ranging English performance practice. While the Day editions were by far the most successful psalters printed in England in the sixteenth century, other editions added even more variety for people in England. Though Day owned the patent for printing the metrical psalms with music through the sixteenth century, many sought creative ways to print their own editions.³⁷ Musicians and poets tried to provide alternative tunes and texts to those printed in the Day psalters, and printers sought these unique versions to gain a foothold in the expanding market for metrical psalters. Discussion now turns to these outlying metrical psalters and their influence on English metrical psalmody.

The first of these was a collection of metrical psalms by Archbishop Matthew Parker that he probably wrote around 1556 and had printed around 1567.³⁸ By all accounts, Parker's psalter [*STCs* 2439 and 2729] should have eclipsed the Sternhold and Hopkins versions. First, Parker's eventual position as Archbishop of Canterbury should have given his psalms a sense of authority in English society. His psalter arguably also contained better metrical translations of the texts.³⁹ As noted earlier, difficulties in rhyme and metre plagued the Sternhold and Hopkins versions, but Parker's psalms avoided many of these problems. Printing collects and arguments for each psalm, Parker's psalter was better suited for the liturgy of the English national

³⁷ Day constantly had to defend his printing patents against piracy. Evenden, *Patents*, 179-80

³⁸ Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 135.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 136-7.

church, too.⁴⁰ It provided only eight tunes for all 150 psalms, making it a simple psalter for people to use, and these tunes may have been more highly regarded than those of the Day psalters because they were composed by Thomas Tallis.⁴¹ Despite these advantages, Parker may have printed his psalters only at the urgings of his friends and intended his psalters for private use.⁴² While this had an effect on the popularity of his metrical psalms, Parker's approach and intent for his metrical psalter was not the main reason for its obscurity. Despite the advantages of the Parker psalter, the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms had become engrained in English culture long before Parker's metrical psalms appeared. Therefore, Parker's psalms had little effect on the English psalm culture of the sixteenth century.

The composer William Daman also wrote some new psalm tunes and tune harmonisations after being appointed to the recorder consort for Queen Elizabeth.⁴³ Recognising some value in Daman's contributions, Day printed his tunes in a 1579 edition of *The Psalmes of David in English Meter* [STC 6219] at the request of Daman's friend, John Bull. Because it highlighted Daman's seven new psalm tunes, his name is most commonly attached to the book. The volume was also one of the first psalters to name its tunes, which would have a significant impact on the metrical psalters printed in England and Scotland after the turn of the century. Performance of the musical settings in Daman's volume, however, was limited to extra-liturgical contexts. As the title page notes, it was intended for "the use of godly Christians for recreating themselves, instead of fond and unseemly ballads."⁴⁴ With this purpose and outlook,

⁴⁰ Ibid., 135.

⁴¹ Tallis served the Tudor court starting with Henry VIII until his death during the reign of Elizabeth I. His name should therefore have brought some distinction to Parker's Psalter. Paul Doe and David Alinson, "Tallis, Thomas," *OMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27423>.

⁴² *MEPC*, 1:56.

⁴³ David Mateer, "Daman, William (d. 1591)," *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7085.

⁴⁴ *STC* 6219.

Daman's psalter enjoyed some success by introducing some tunes that would become important in the seventeenth century.

The next major attempt to gain access to the English metrical psalm market issued from the press of John Wolfe in 1585. Modelled after Day's set of part-books from 1563 [STC 2431], Wolfe's set contained five- and six-part settings of the psalms by John Cosyn [STC 5828]. As with the Daman psalter, the Sternhold and Hopkins texts remained unchanged. However, Cosyn's psalter used several tunes from Daman's edition and set some of the traditional proper tunes to different texts. He also added a new tune from Psalm 67 that had not previously appeared in a metrical psalter.

Two more editions of psalm tunes by William Daman appeared in 1591, which came after the composer's death. These two psalters were titled *The former Booke of the Musicke of M. William Daman, late one of her maiesties Musitions* [STC 6220] and *The Second Booke of the Musicke of M. William Daman, late one of her maiesties Musitions* [STC 6221]. Daman's 1591 psalters saved little of the musical content that set his 1579 psalter apart from its contemporaries. Of those seven new tunes printed in 1579, only the tune from Psalm 23 survived in the 1591 editions. Since these later Daman psalters title pages claim to print "all the tunes of Dauids Psalmes, as they are ordinarily soung in the Church," it could be implied that people did not sing the omitted tunes from 1579. In addition, it could suggest a shift in the role of printed metrical psalters in English life. Rather than prescribing proper melodies for performance in church services, these psalters may have described psalm performance in English church services. However, it is unclear whether Daman's edition indeed printed all the psalms "as they are ordinarily soung in the Church," since they included polyphonic settings of the metrical psalms and canticles. Considering the diversity of performance practice in sixteenth-century England, it is possible that this volume included the tunes as they

were sung in the Churches that maintained choirs.⁴⁵ However, an untrained congregation would have had considerable difficulty performing Daman's settings. Since the significant majority of churches in England did not have choirs, the assertion (whether made by Daman or the printer, Thomas East) was probably an overstatement intended to encourage sales.

Through the experience he gained from printing Daman's 1591 psalters, Thomas East printed his own edition one year later in 1592. He titled his psalter *The Whole booke of Psalmes With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts* [STC 2482], as a clear reference to the Day psalters. East's psalter distinguished itself from the Day psalters because it printed a tune for each psalm text. Since the process of finding the correct psalm tune had become complicated in recent Day editions, this would have been a welcome change.⁴⁶ However, this does not mean that East printed a unique tune for each text. The primary sources for text-tune pairings were the 1591 Daman editions, as he reproduced each of these pairings with the exceptions of Psalms 88 and 142. East then added eight new tunes. Of these eight, three tunes predominated, filling most of the gaps left by the proper tunes. Rather than providing tune suggestions for these three, however, East re-printed the tune each time it was required. Interestingly, East employed these tunes using a sequential pattern instead of suiting them to their texts. The tunes assigned to Psalms 31-38 (Table 4.1) reveal East's method. While he deviated from this pattern when a single psalm, or a pair or trio of adjacent psalms needed tunes, it is interesting that he used it on groups of four or more adjoining psalms.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For discussions of these churches, see Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 114-121; and Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 402-3.

⁴⁶ See, for example, p. 90.

⁴⁷ Other psalm groups following this pattern are Psalms 8-13, 53-58, 62-66, 73-75, 93-99, and 105-110. See Appendix B.

Table 4.1: Tunes printed in East's 1592 psalter

Psalm Text	Tune (<i>HTI</i> number)
31	249a
32	201a
33	250b
34	249a
35	201a
36	250b
37	249a
38	201a
39	250b

In many ways, East's 1592 edition was much more user-friendly than other recent metrical psalters. This simplified tune repertory would have been much easier for congregations to use in worship. Similarly, the new four-part harmonisations printed in East's edition by the likes of Richard Allison, Edmund Blankes, John Dowland, John Farmer, and Edmund Hooper would have made East's psalter more easily performable than Daman's psalm settings.

Popular appeal clearly remained a goal for East's second psalter, which appeared in 1594 [*STC* 2488]. Besides keeping the changes made in his 1592 edition, the 1594 psalter removed the proper tunes for 12 psalms, replacing each with one of the three main tunes used in the previous edition.⁴⁸ These replacements could have stemmed from a desire to copy current practice in the English church, since East asserted, "The Psalmes are song to these 4 tunes in most churches of this Realme."⁴⁹ However, the extent to which this statement reflects common practice in England is debatable, as will be discussed later.⁵⁰ While East's psalter editions of 1604 [*STC* 2515] and 1611 [*STC* 2538.5] retain the musical content of his 1594 edition, the unchanged Day editions and the conflicting accounts in other editions cast doubt on East's claim.

⁴⁸ The psalm tunes replaced in East's 1594 Psalter are Psalms 2, 5, 7, 20, 24, 26-28, 45, 81, 84, and 138. See Appendix B.

⁴⁹ East's comment refers to *HTI* tunes 201a, 249a, 250b, and 269c. *STC* 2488, p. 1.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 6, pp. 251-4.

Though Day's harmonised psalter of 1563 suggested that it "may be song to al muscally instruments,"⁵¹ Richard Allison's psalter of 1599 first provided accompaniments expressly written for musical instruments. As its title suggests, Allison intended performers to sing the music in his *The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter, The plaine Song beeing the common tunne to be sung and plaide vpon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base* [STC 2497] with instrumental accompaniment. An examination of the musical content of Allison's psalter reveals a close relationship with the East psalters, and Allison's psalter set the same psalms to the same tunes as East's psalter. Aside from the differing harmonisations between the two psalters, the only difference between the tunes was the new tune from Psalm 125 added by Allison.⁵²

The circumstances surrounding the printing of these psalters deserve further discussion, as William Barley printed Allison's psalter at the assigns of Thomas Morley, while East printed his psalters at the assigns of William Byrd. Navigating the complexities of the English print trade at the end of the sixteenth century is difficult, but Jeremy Smith's account brings clarity to the multifaceted dealings of many tradespeople in the industry.⁵³ The key to unravelling the relationship between these psalter editions by East and Allison is the English composer William Byrd. Byrd owned the patent on printing music in parts from 1575-96, and he first exercised his rights through the printer Thomas Vautrollier until the printer's death. Afterwards, Byrd turned to East to print his musical editions. Two of these were the 1591 Daman Psalters, which resulted from Byrd's dealings with Daman through the Chapel Royal.⁵⁴ Interestingly, East printed these while Richard Day still owned the psalm patent, but the otherwise rabid defenders of the psalter patent ignored these two volumes. That these two bore little likeness to the original Daman Psalter printed by John Day

⁵¹ STC 2431.

⁵² See Appendix B.

⁵³ Smith, *Thomas East*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

suggests East was trying to avoid any confrontation with Richard Day and his colleagues. The fact that the two psalters were also posthumously dedicated to a well respected court musician probably also kept the Day Assigns from taking any action against East. Emboldened by the success of his Daman psalters, East sought to secure his place in the profitable psalter printing business with his own harmonised psalm collections of 1592 and 1594. Because of the weak protection offered by Byrd's patent, East sought further security from the psalter's dedicatee, Sir John Puckering. As Keeper of the Great Seal, Puckering was a powerful ally, but perhaps East's most successful strategy was that he avoided conflict with the Day patent holders.⁵⁵

Since Byrd allowed his patent to expire in 1596, his former student Thomas Morley sought a similar patent on music with parts. Queen Elizabeth finally awarded him the patent in 1598, but by this time East already owned the printing rights for all of Morley's compositions. Seeking entry into the metrical psalter market, Morley enlisted the help of a former printing foe, William Barley, to print Allison's psalter.⁵⁶ As a freeman and member of the Drapers' Company, Barley was not under the copyright controls of the Stationers Company.⁵⁷ With Barley's involvement and the loss of the printing rights granted by Byrd's patent, East had no recourse to protect his 1592 and 1594 psalters. However, Morley made the critical mistake of trying to revoke the Day psalm patent. Defending his patent, Richard Day cited as precedent the history of his and his father's metrical psalter editions. With most of the evidence on Day's side, the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁵⁶ Barley printed both *The pathway to musicke contayning sundrie familiar and easie rules...* [STC 19464] and *A new booke of tabliture containing sundrie easie and familiar instructions...* [STC 1433] in 1596, when Morley was working on his *A plaine and easie introduction to practycall musicke...* [STC 18133]. Smith describes Morley's animated response to Barley's two volumes. Ibid., 86.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 85-6.

Lords of the Star Chamber ruled in his favour, ending all further efforts to print the metrical psalter in England without the approval of the Day patentees.⁵⁸

Outside the country, two Dutch-printed psalters deserve mention. The first was the set of psalters printed by Robert Schilders in Middelburg. As discussed later in this chapter, his psalters were the first English language metrical psalters to include the prose text alongside its metrical versions. Whether or not it was his intent, they also became the first experiment in merging the English and Scottish metrical psalm traditions. The other noteworthy set of psalters issued from the Netherlands in 1612 [STC 2407] and used new versifications by Henry Ainsworth. His psalter appeared again in 1617, 1632, and 1644, and printed only 48 tunes. However, Ainsworth's psalters drew their melodies from various sources, including the psalm traditions of Geneva, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. Though Ainsworth's psalters had little impact in England and Scotland, they were popular with the English Separatists and Brownists, who took Ainsworth's psalters with them when they established the Plymouth Colony in America in 1620.

Although one person or group of people owned the patent on printing psalms with music, analysis of the printed English metrical psalters in the late sixteenth century reveals a broad diversity in musical content. The variety in the *Whole booke* line of psalters in England reached its peak in the 1580s. While some consolidation and simplification of tune suggestions occurred in the editions printed in the 1590s, melodic and rhythmic diversity persisted. Several psalters outside this tradition, including those by Daman, East, and Ainsworth extended the range of musical content printed in the *Whole booke*. As Chapter 6 will discuss, this diversity was symptomatic of a widely ranging performance practice of metrical psalms in sixteenth-century England.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 92-3.

4.3 Consistency in Scottish Metrical Psalters

Scotland did not experience the same continuity in printers through the late sixteenth century. Despite the support of the Kirk in the 1560s, Robert Lekpreuik's future was far from certain. Following the murder of the King consort Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, and the subsequent marriage of Queen Mary Stuart to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, Scotland plunged into a civil war. Scottish Protestants had become increasingly frustrated by Mary's insistence on preserving Roman Catholic rites, and this scandal gave them a reason to depose their ruler. Whether Mary had anything to do with the death of her husband, her marriage to Bothwell—one accused in the death of Darnley—convinced many in Scotland of her guilt. Thus, Scotland divided into those favouring the Queen and those opposing her. After her defeat at Carberry, the Lords quickly arrested Mary and forced her to abdicate the throne to her son, James, who was crowned James VI of Scotland at 13 months of age. Many Scots remained loyal to the Queen, and the two sides in the following conflict became known as the Queen's party and the King's party.

Though Scotland was mainly an oral society, both parties understood the importance of employing a printer to promote their cause.⁵⁹ Since many of the Kirk's leaders supported James VI, Lekpreuik became the official printer for the King's party due to his previous service to the Kirk. Lekpreuik's Edinburgh rival, Thomas Bassandyne, became the official printer for the Queen's party. Possibly trained in Paris and Leiden, Bassandyne appeared in Edinburgh around 1564, and he quickly fell out of favour with the General Assembly, which asked him to withdraw several works, one of which was a psalm-book that printed the tune "Welcome fortune."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Alastair Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 150-1.

⁶⁰ *APGA* 1:159; Alastair Mann, "Bassandyne, Thomas (d. 1577)," *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/1634.

In the civil war that finally ended in 1573, the King's party prevailed, but that did not translate into success for Lekpreuik or disaster for Bassandyne. After securing victory, the King's party arrested Bassandyne for treason and ordered the loss of his property. Bassandyne secured his release after a year in prison and began to rebuild his printing and bookselling businesses.⁶¹ On the other hand, Lekpreuik, too, eventually fell foul of the authorities because of his illegal reprint of John Davidson's *Ane Dialogue or [mu]tuall ta[lking betu]ixt a [clerk] and[ane Cour]teour concerning [four Parische Kirks] till ane minister* [STC 6323]. Lekpreuik was jailed for the offence, forcing the Assembly to turn to other printers for its needs. In March 1575, they asked Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnet to print a Bible, something that Lekpreuik had failed to do despite his 1568 licence to print the Geneva Bible.⁶² In addition, a battle for the rights to the metrical psalter followed with both Bassandyne and John Ros printing authorised editions in 1575. The title page of Bassandyne's *The CL Psalmes of David in metre* [STC 16580] asserts he printed it "CVM PRIVILEGIO." However, Ros' *The Psalmes of David in Metre...* [Bound with STC 16579.5] asserts he printed it "CVM PRIVILEGIO REGALI." It seems that Bassandyne and Arbuthnet won the battle over the metrical psalter, as Arbuthnet received a seven-year copyright for the metrical psalter in 1579.⁶³ No doubt this was Arbuthnet's reward for completing the Bible, even though it was nine months late.⁶⁴ However, both Ros' and Bassandyne's editions were acceptable since booksellers bound both editions with the *Forme of prayers* of 1575.

Arbuthnet interestingly did not take advantage of his copyright before his death in 1584, and according to Alastair Mann, the copyright passed to several different booksellers from 1584-9. These included George Young, Gilbert Masterson, and John

⁶¹ Mann, "Bassandyne."

⁶² This privilege was short-lived for Bassandyne, as he died in 1577, leaving Arbuthnet to finish the Bible, which he printed in 1579.

⁶³ *Registers of the Privy Seal*, ed. M. Livingstone (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1908), 7:305, "No. 1870." Cited in Mann, *Book Trade*, 237.

⁶⁴ Mann, *Book Trade*, 37-8.

Gibson. The last of these, Gibson, owned the rights to the psalter from 1589 to 1599, when the copyright passed to Robert Smyth.⁶⁵ With the copyright changing hands so often in the 1580s, it is understandable why no printer in Scotland produced a copy of the metrical psalter during the period. The next known psalter printed in Scotland issued from Henry Charteris' press in 1596. Since Charteris did not own the patent on the psalms at the time, Robert Smyth—the patent owner—probably assigned him the task.

During this time when the patent changed hands so many times, however, another notable printer was interested in psalter printing. Thomas Vautrollier was a Frenchman who had settled in London in 1562. He established his printing business there in 1570, but he ran into problems with the Stationers and moved to Edinburgh in 1583. He stayed only a year, but that was long enough to spark his interest in the Scottish metrical psalter. By the end of 1584, he was back in London, where he began work on an edition of the Scottish metrical psalter. Printed in 1587, this volume used Bassandyne's title, *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter. For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland* [STC 16582], and it avoided problems with existing patents and copyrights owned by Richard Day because Vautrollier asserted its Scottish lineage and audience.

Despite the relative upheaval in the Scottish printing world, the musical content of the psalters was surprisingly constant. In fact, the 11 Scottish metrical psalters printed up to 1596 contained only 12 deviations in both proper and suggested tunes (Table 4.2).⁶⁶ One of these—the omitted tune suggestion for Psalm 64 in Schilders' 1596 edition—probably was a misprint, but the others may have been intentional. Three of the changes appeared in John Ros' 1575 *CL Psalmes*, which trace back to the 1556 *Forme of prayers*. Rather than printing the 1556 tune for Psalm 2, Lekpreuik's

⁶⁵ Mann, *Book Trade*, 238-9.

⁶⁶ See also Appendix B.

psalter suggested that singers use the tune from Psalm 1 with the text for Psalm 2. This had been the practice since the 1558 *Forme of prayers*, but Ros must have seen some value in the original tune for Psalm 2. This caused a problem since the 1556 tune for Psalm 2 often appeared with the text of Psalm 10 beginning with the 1558 *Forme of prayers*.⁶⁷ To fill the musical gap left by this change, Ros reintroduced the proper tune for Psalm 10 from the 1556 *Forme of prayers*, pairing it with its original text. Besides these two replacements, Ros inserted the 1556 *Forme of prayers* tune from Psalm 4, pairing it with the text for Psalm 35. As opposed to his other changes, this had no influence on later editions, as each either printed Lekpreuik's proper tune for the psalm or printed a new tune or tune suggestion.⁶⁸

Table 4.2: Differing tunes in the Scottish psalters up to 1596

Psalm	Source	Difference
Ps. 2	Ros, 1575 <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1575) [STC 16579.5] Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16584.5] Vautrollier, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16582] Vautrollier, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16583] Schilders, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1594) [STC 16584] Schilders, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 2701] Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Prints the 1556 <i>Forme of prayers</i> tune for Ps. 2 rather than suggesting the tune from Ps. 1
Ps. 10	Ros, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1575) [STC 16579.5] Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16584.5] Vautrollier, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16582] Vautrollier, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1587) [STC 16583]	Prints the 1556 Anglo-Genevan tune for Ps. 10 rather than its normal proper tune
Ps. 35	Ros, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1575) [STC 16579.5]	Prints the 1556 Anglo-Genevan tune for Ps. 4 rather than its normal proper tune

⁶⁷ See Appendix B.

⁶⁸ STC 2702 suggests the tune from Psalm 34 for Psalm 35, and a new tune was introduced in STCs 16589 and 16591. See Appendix B.

Ps. 39	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 15 instead of the tune from Ps. 29
Ps. 49	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 44 rather than printing its normal proper tune
Ps. 56	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 27 instead of the normal suggestion of Ps. 70
Ps. 60	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from the "Ten Commandments" instead of the tune from Ps. 59
Ps. 64	Schilders, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 2701]	Does not print a tune suggestion (probably a misprint)
Ps. 65	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 39 instead of the tune from Ps. 30
Ps. 76	Schilders, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1594) [STC 16584] Schilders, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 2701] Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Prints a new tune to replace the normal proper tune
Ps. 90	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 44 instead of the tune from Ps. 103
Ps. 93	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]	Suggests the tune from Ps. 71 instead of the tune from Ps. 77

Seven of the nine remaining tune differences were changes to tune suggestions in Charteris' 1596 psalter, and each represents an improvement in text juxtapositions. As discussed in Chapter 1, tune suggestions in the Anglo-Genevan editions were more than a simple matching of metres between tunes and texts. By selecting a proper tune from a similar psalm text, Anglo-Genevan editors provided a much richer singing experience. In England, this practice had relaxed because of the fluidity of tune and text pairing. The metrical psalters printed in Scotland reveal a similar relaxation, but on a much smaller scale.

Charteris' 1596 edition was a renewed effort to align the Scottish psalter with its Anglo-Genevan predecessors, this time through its tune suggestions. For instance, Charteris' suggested tune of Psalm 27 for the text of Psalm 56 was much more fitting than Lekpreuik's suggestion of the tune of Psalm 70. Both Psalms 27 and 56 are expressions of trust in God. Psalm 27:14 ends, "Hope in the Lord: be strong, and he

shall comfort thine heart, and trust in the Lord" (Geneva Bible), and Psalm 56:11 states, "In God doe I trust: I will not be afayrd what man can doe vnto me" (Geneva Bible). Similarly, the new tune suggestion of the "Ten Commandments" for Psalm 60 reveals an understanding of the purpose of the psalm. As with the "Ten Commandments," Psalm 60 was a teaching psalm.⁶⁹ Thus, Charteris chose to use the same tune for both these didactic portions of Scripture.

While many of these new pairings resulted from improvements in textual juxtapositions, the new suggestions for Psalms 65 and 93 are puzzling. For the joyful praise—"for the plentiful blessings powred forth vpon al the earth"⁷⁰—in Psalm 65, Charteris substituted the original tune suggestion of Psalm 30, a psalm of praise for rescue,⁷¹ with Psalm 39, which the 1564-5 edition calls a prayer that "shew[s] a minde wonderfully troubled."⁷² Even Charteris' updated argument provides little reasoning for the change. He wrote, "This Psalme conteinis ane singular exampil of ane faithful soule against impacience and despair."⁷³ He also opted for a tune from a psalm asking for rescue in Psalm 71⁷⁴ for a praise of "the power of God in the creatioun of the world" in Psalm 93.⁷⁵ Since Psalm 93 mentions God's control over the waters of the oceans and floods, this choice is confusing considering the original suggestion—the tune from Psalm 77—praises God that "the waters sawe thee, and were afraide: yea, the depths trembled" (v. 16, Geneva Bible). Even with these questionable changes, Charteris' revisions made the suggested tunes more relevant to their texts and further aligned his edition with the Anglo-Genevan editions.

⁶⁹ The psalm's argument reads, "Dauid now king ouer Iudah, after manie victories, sheweth by euident signes, that God elected him King, assurand the people that God will prosper them, if they approue the same." *STC* 16585, p. 187.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷² *STC* 16577a, p. 107.

⁷³ *STC* 16585, p. 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 315.

The tunes printed and suggested with each psalm text in the Scottish psalters through the sixteenth century remained fairly static. While 12 deviations occurred in the later sixteenth-century editions, this is a much smaller variance than that of Day's metrical psalters. Unlike Day's psalters, the goal behind most of these changes seems to have been to bring the Scottish metrical psalters more in line with the Anglo-Genevan editions, as shown by Ros' and Charteris' editions. This consistency among the Scottish psalters is surprising considering the turmoil and turnover in the Scottish printing industry through the end of the sixteenth century. Before drawing any further conclusions on the musical content of the Scottish psalters, it is important to consider the accuracy by which Scottish editions transmitted these tunes in the sixteenth century.

The accuracy of printed tunes could vary wildly in the Day psalters, but the Scottish editions remained fairly constant. Scottish printers such as Durand in 1571 [STC 16579],⁷⁶ and Bassandyne [STC 16580] and Ros [STC 16579.5] in 1575 used Lekpreuik's 1564-5 edition as a template for their psalters. While there were deviations in these editions, they occurred less often than in the Day psalters. As an example, only 15 tunes in Bassandyne's 1575 *CL Psalmes of David in English metre* [16580] deviated from Lekpreuik's 1565 edition, and most of these consisted of a single pitch or note length. Four are attributable to Bassandyne's seeming reluctance to print dotted semibreves. Instead, he printed a semibreve followed by a minim on the same note. Maybe Bassandyne did not have the ability to print dots on his staves, but he also may have tried to make a clearer distinction between dots and the rests that often appeared at the end of each phrase.

⁷⁶ Though this edition lacks a title page, the *STC* suggests that it came from the press of Zachary Durant in Geneva.

Whatever his reason for the substitution, his psalter may have expected too much from its users. Since the tie did not exist in sixteenth-century notation, he expected them to recognise when there were too many notes and to extend the correct semibreve. For Psalm 137, for example, he expected singers to recognise that there were too many notes for the word "instruments," so they would need to tie the first two notes together. Bassandyne made similar demands in his editions of the tunes for Psalms 77, 95, and 135. Despite the vague nature of this rhythmic variation in Bassandyne's edition, it only occurred in four psalm tunes. Otherwise, his proper tunes closely followed those printed in Lekpreuik's metrical psalters. The same was true of the editions printed by Durand and Ros. While deviations did occur, these editions limited them to single notes—in either length or pitch.⁷⁷

Later editions by Vautrollier, Charteris, and Schilders probably relied on Bassandyne's psalter, as his "solution" for the dotted rhythms in Lekpreuik's psalter made its way into these later editions. For instance, Vautrollier's version of Psalm 77 and Schilders' 1594 version of Psalm 135 both treated Bassandyne's changes in different ways. Though some confusion persisted in the 1596 editions by Schilders [*STC* 2701] and Charteris [*STC* 16585], they were much more consistent in dropping the added minim. Despite the minor shift in source materials between 1575 and the editions printed from 1587-96, printers remained remarkably precise in reproducing the musical content of their source.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, English and Scottish metrical psalm traditions came from the same psalters in Geneva, yet they were different. The printed editions preserved these differences through the rest of the century and introduced new ones. First, either John Day or his son, Richard, printed or assigned a printer for each metrical psalter through the sixteenth century in England. This provided continuity in printing

⁷⁷ As noted in Table 4.2, Ros also printed different tunes for Psalms 10 and 35.

personnel that was unparalleled in Scotland, where short copyrights were the standard practice. On the other hand, the number of printers of the Scottish psalters through the sixteenth century did not translate into different versions of the psalter. The successive sixteenth-century psalter editions in Scotland remained close to Lekpreuik's original in texts, tune suggestions, and printed musical content. In contrast, the Day psalters varied from edition to edition. Some of the Day psalters drew from a musical repertory of about 60 tunes, while others used only around 40.

In part, the General Assembly exerted some influence over the metrical psalter in Scotland, which contributed to the country's more consistent printed editions. Beginning in 1563, the General Assembly claimed jurisdiction over printed and publishing works "tuiching religion."⁷⁸ Whether or not the Assembly retained that right through the rest of the century, printers relied on the Assembly's permission to print the Bible from 1560 to 1590, and the metrical psalms were often the gateway for acquiring permission to print the Bible.⁷⁹ Following the example of Geneva, the Scottish General Assembly may have also exercised control over the content of the metrical psalters.⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier, the 1568 Assembly ordered Bassandyne to delete "the said bawdy song, 'Welcome, Fortune,' which he had printed without the license of the magistgrate, or the revising of the Kirk."⁸¹ The General Assembly, not any other authoritative body in Scotland, commissioned Pont to revise the metrical psalms in 1601, as discussed briefly in Chapter 3.⁸² In addition, the public probably added

⁷⁸ *APGA*, 1:43-4; Mann, *Book Trade*, 23.

⁷⁹ Lekpreuik and Bassandyne received permission to print the Bible after they had printed editions of the metrical psalms. Mann, *Book Trade*, 36-8.

⁸⁰ For example, Andrew Pettegree notes that the council disciplined one printer for silently correcting a misprinted note, and the Geneva magistrates imprisoned Loys Bourgeois, the psalm tune composer, in 1551 for changing the psalm tunes without license. Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58; Frank Dobbins, "Bourgeois, Loys," *OMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03721>

⁸¹ *APGA*, 1:159; Calderwood, *History*, 2:423.

⁸² See p. 142.

pressure to maintain a consistent metrical psalter. That is, the metrical psalms were an official part of the liturgy of the Scottish church, which gave them a sense of permanence and immutability. As will be discussed later in Chapter 6, the evidence suggests that in church most Scots sang the psalms as they were printed, which also engrained them in society.⁸³ Given these liturgical pressures and the potentiality that significant differences could lead to reduced sales, Scottish printers were careful to print the psalters without change.

Though the English government and later the Stationers Company regulated the Day psalters, this oversight was much more lax than that of the Scottish General Assembly. Furthermore, the metrical psalms did not occupy the same official position in the English liturgy as they did in the Scottish liturgy. This probably contributed to a freer English psalm-singing practice. Thus, Day was more at liberty to make changes to the musical content of his psalters, while Scottish printers may not have had this flexibility because large changes to the psalters may have needed the approval of the Assembly or may have resulted in significantly reduced sales. The fundamental differences between the English and Scottish churches therefore resulted in the varied Day psalters in contrast with the static Scottish psalters.

4.4 Challenging Established Practice: The Middelburg Psalters

Around the turn of the century, a new set of metrical psalters appeared from the Continent. These psalters printed in the Dutch city of Middelburg by Robert Schilders were the first attempts to consolidate the psalm traditions of England and Scotland. As a metrical psalm printer for both countries, Schilders may simply have tried to consolidate his business and workload. However, the effects of his psalters would linger in England and Scotland for years to come.

⁸³ See pp. 275-91.

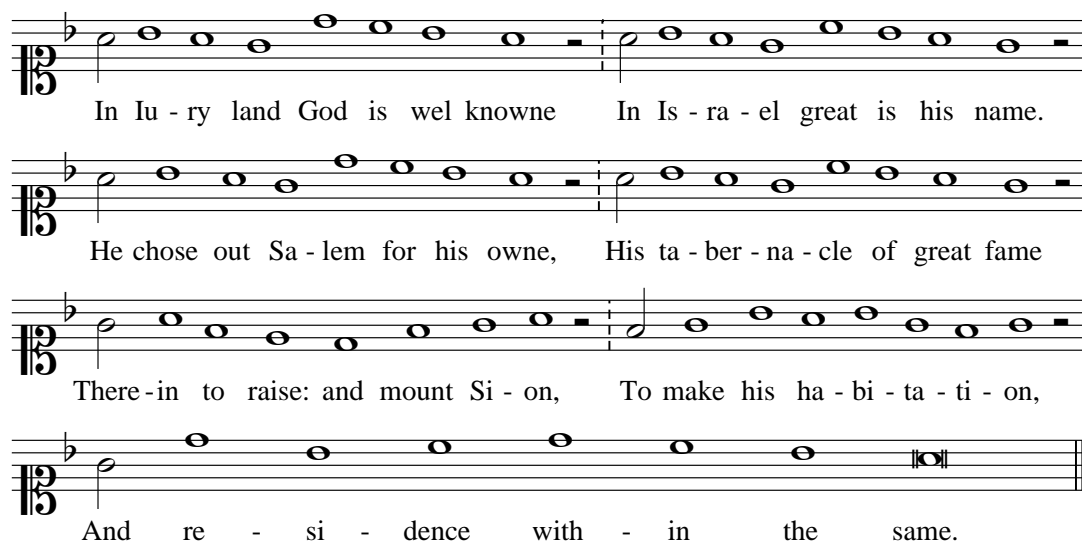
The Calvinist Schilders had moved to London as a refugee from the advancing Spanish armies on the Continent in 1567. After spending 13 years in London learning the printing trade, the magistrates of Middelburg asked him to set up a press there, an invitation he was happy to accept.⁸⁴ Because of its importance as a centre for English trade, this Dutch city had become home to a group of English Protestants who believed the English national church had not gone far enough with its reforms. Schilders set up his press in Middelburg between 1579 and 1580, and it would become one of the most important sources for "underground" Anglo-Scottish materials for over 30 years.⁸⁵ These contentious materials included pamphlets and tracts by English puritans and "separatists" residing in Middelburg.

Though Schilders' prints were illegal in England, they were approved in Scotland, and he printed editions of the Scottish metrical psalms in 1594 [*STC* 16584] and 1596 [*STC* 2701]. In 1599, John Gibson, a bookbinder in Edinburgh, received a licence to import Schilders' psalters.⁸⁶ The first of these, titled *The CL. Psalmes of David in Meter*, differed from their Scottish predecessors in only two instances (Table 4.2). First, the 1596 edition neglected to print a tune or suggestion for Psalm 64. This was probably simply an oversight by Schilders and not an intentional departure from previous Scottish psalters. The other difference probably was intentional. Schilders' 1594 and 1596 editions both printed a new tune for Psalm 76.

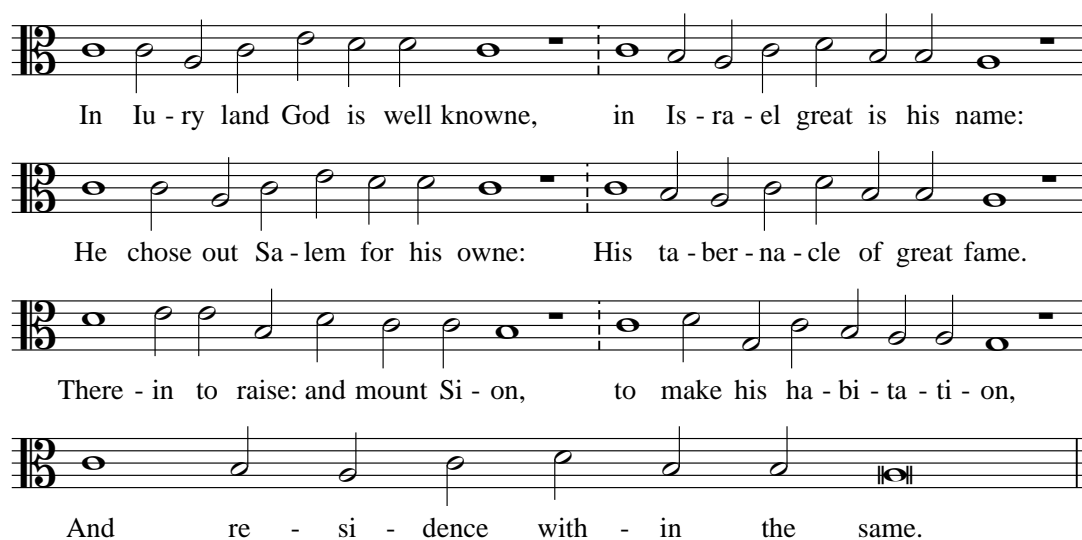
⁸⁴ Mann, *Book Trade*, 79.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

Figure 4.8: Psalm 76:1 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 16577a]


In Iu - ry land God is wel knowne In Is - ra - el great is his name.
 He chose out Sa - lem for his owne, His ta - ber - na - cle of great fame
 There - in to raise: and mount Si - on, To make his ha - bi - ta - ti - on,
 And re - si - dence with - in the same.

Figure 4.9: Psalm 76:1 in the 1594 *CL Psalmes* [STC 16584]


In Iu - ry land God is well knowne, in Is - ra - el great is his name:
 He chose out Sa - lem for his owne: His ta - ber - na - cle of great fame.
 There - in to raise: and mount Si - on, to make his ha - bi - ta - ti - on,
 And re - si - dence with - in the same.

The reasons for replacing the tune seem straightforward. The original proper tune from Psalm 76 (Figure 4.8) was drab and its rhythms were the opposite of what a sixteenth-century singer would expect from a psalm tune. First, its clef was unusual for psalm tunes, placing C on the first line. The tune's first two lines are the same, and its small 5-note *ambitus* from g¹ to d² exacerbates the banality of the tune. Rather than beginning each phrase with a semibreve followed by a series of minims, the tune begins each with a minim followed by a series of semibreves. This undoubtedly slowed the

tune down, and its repetition within a limited *ambitus* probably made it unattractive. Instead, Schilders' version (Figure 4.9) speeds up the tune by using semibreves only at the beginnings and cadences of each phrase, which otherwise uses minims throughout. Though it keeps much of the melodic movement of the original, the replacement tune better fits the psalm tune template by placing c^1 on the third line and using livelier rhythms to offset the tune's repetitions.

Despite these minor changes, Schilders' metrical psalters must have experienced some early success in Scotland. After the death of Charteris in 1599, the future of Scottish psalm printing was in question. So, John Gibson petitioned for permission to continue importing Schilders' publications. Gibson received his license that same year, which also allowed Schilders to expand and edit the Scottish metrical psalter. Specifically, this license allowed Gibson to:

...causit imprent within Middilburgh in Flanderis ane new psalme buik in litill volume contening baith the Psalmes in verse as lykwayis the samyn in prose upoun the margine tharof in ane forme nevir practizit nor devisit in any heirtofir.⁸⁷

Up to this point, marginalia in the metrical psalters in both England and Scotland provided cross-references of Biblical texts. While a 1561 edition of the Geneva Psalter first printed prose and metrical texts, the licence's assertion that it was "ane forme nevir practizit nor devisit in any heirtofir" confirms it was an innovation for English-language metrical psalters.

Schilders released his first Scottish metrical psalter using this new format [*STC* 16587] in the same year that Gibson received his patent, making it difficult to know whether the psalter or patent came first.⁸⁸ Regardless, this first psalter under the new patent was significantly different from Schilders' previous two editions of the Scottish

⁸⁷ Nicholas Temperley, "Middelburg Psalms," *Studies in Bibliography* 30 (1977): 164-65.

⁸⁸ Temperley notes that Gibson claims to have commissioned the psalter, but he may have been trying to claim credit for something that had come directly to Schilders from Geneva. *Ibid.*, 166.

psalter in another way: it printed proper tunes for only 75 psalms.⁸⁹ The reasons for this severely consolidated musical content are unclear. One possibility is that Schilders sought to counter the imminent increase in printing costs because of the prose marginalia by decreasing the psalter's printed proper tunes. The result was a psalter that essentially doubled its printed content due to the prose texts in the margins without dramatically increasing its price.

It is also possible that Gibson commissioned Schilders to adapt the Day psalters for Scottish purposes. While, as Temperley noted, this does not bear out in textual comparisons between Schilders' 1596 and 1599 editions, the Day psalters could have been a basic musical template for Schilders' 1599 Scottish Psalter.⁹⁰ Chapter 2 commented that the Day psalters contained significantly fewer tunes than the Scottish psalters. Possibly people at the time knew of this difference between the two, and equated the Day psalters with a more consolidated tune repertory.

Though Schilders' 1599 *CL. Psalmes of David* reduced the number of proper psalm tunes it printed, there was one important addition made by Schilders. Lekpreuik's original 1564-65 *Forme of prayers* suggested the tune from the "Ten Commandments" for Psalm 54, but it did not print the tune. However, Protestants in Scotland probably knew the tune fairly well, since it had been a regular part of worship services in Frankfurt and Geneva by the exile congregations. This tune, which normally accompanied Whittingham's version of the "Ten Commandments," had also appeared in each Anglo-Genevan edition of the *Forme of prayers* since 1556. Though later Scottish psalters printed the "Ten Commandments" with its tune, the suggestion for Psalm 54 unsurprisingly remained. Because of Lekpreuik's omission, however, some doubt has lingered about which tune Scots normally used with Psalm 54. Schilders'

⁸⁹ Leading up to his 1599 edition, Schilders' 1594 and 1596 metrical psalters printed proper tunes for 121 psalms and canticles.

⁹⁰ Temperley, "Middelburg Psalms," 165-6.

1599 edition, however, printed the tune from the "Ten Commandments" as the proper tune for Psalm 54, confirming that it was the tune used for the text in Scottish churches throughout the sixteenth century.

The remaining musical content from Schilders' 1599 Scottish psalter tells a similarly interesting tale. The first 36 psalms reproduce the same tunes and suggestions as earlier Scottish editions, but beginning with Psalm 37, he starts omitting proper tunes. Clearly, he was careful about the tunes he omitted towards the beginning and middle of this edition, as he replaced them with suitable tune suggestions. His suggestions also largely avoided the tune hunting that had become commonplace in the Day psalters. Though Schilders was careful to provide a tune or suggestion for each text through Psalm 46, 41 of the final 104 psalms appeared without a tune or suggestion. And, most of these omissions occurred in the final 50 psalms. Psalm 114 was the only text without a proper tune after Psalm 107 to include a tune suggestion. The care exercised in the first part of the psalter contrasted with the carelessness of the final part suggests that Schilders hurried the psalter to its completion. His reasons for hurrying this edition are unclear, but it also had an impact on his English psalter printed in the same year.

Schilders intended this English version [STC 2499.9] for the English exiles there in Middelburg, and Temperley notes that Schilders formed this "Englished" version by starting with his 1599 Scottish edition. Schilders' newest edition began by re-using the first three quires and the first part of the fourth from his Scottish edition. Given that Schilders had to hurry to finish that version, he may have faced similar time constraints with his English version. By using the first three quires of the Scottish version, Schilders undoubtedly saved himself much time in printing this newest edition. Despite some differences in tunes between the Day and Scottish psalm traditions, the texts from the first 22 psalms of the Day and Scottish metrical psalters were the same.

Thus, Schilders undoubtedly thought it was reasonable to sacrifice complete continuity with the musical content of Day's psalters for the advantage he gained in printing the psalter faster. After that, the texts of the two traditions diverged, so Schilders had to start printing pages unique to the English edition.⁹¹

Table 4.3: Musical content from Schilders' 1599 English psalter

Tunes not normally in the Day psalters	Day psalter tunes paired with new texts	Tunes normally in the Day psalters
Psalms 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 33, 34, 66, and 95	Psalms 47, 62*, 67, 71, 85, 86, 96, 115, 132, 136, 138, 141, 143, 144, and 149	Psalms 3, 6, 14, 18, 30, 35, 41, 44, 46, 50, 51, 52, 59, 61, 68, 69, 71, 72, 77, 78, 81, 96, 104, 119, 121, 129, 130, 132, and 147; <i>Benedicite</i> , <i>Benedictus</i> , "Complaint of a Sinner," "Creed," <i>Da Pacem Domine</i> , "Humble Suit of a Sinner," "Lamentation," "Lamentation of a Sinner," "Lord's Prayer" (Whittingham and Cox), <i>Magnificat</i> , <i>Nunc Dimittis</i> , "Preserve Us," <i>Quiconque vult</i> , <i>Te Deum</i> , "Ten Commandments," "Ten Commandments," <i>Veni Creator</i>

* The tune printed for Psalm 62 is related to the proper tune from Psalm 44, but it is a different tune.

Despite the "Scottish" opening to Schilders' 1599 English edition, its musical content did not entirely reflect a Scottish psalter. Of the 80 total tunes it provided, 18 had not appeared regularly in the Day psalters (Table 4.3). Interestingly, the tunes for Psalms 66 and 96 were the only ones outside Psalms 1 through 35 that had not regularly appeared in the Day psalters. The rest of the tunes printed in Schilders' 1599 English edition were commonplace in the Day psalters. While 15 of these tunes

⁹¹ Discussing the differences between Schilders' Scottish and English versions of his 1599 psalter, Temperley noted, "The only significant differences are in the tunes..." Ibid., 164. Because the text of the Scottish version uses the traditional Scottish editions and the English version meticulously followed the Day psalters, as Temperley noted on p. 166, the texts were another significant difference between the two versions.

appeared as proper tunes for new texts, most of these also appeared as proper tunes with their original texts. The 18 new "Scottish" tunes gave this edition a new and unique musical repertoire, but it probably was not enough to discourage use by those accustomed to the Day metrical psalters. In a culture familiar with mixing and matching tunes and texts, Schilders' English psalter did not make particularly unusual demands of its users.

Though Schilders' primary audience for this English edition was the community of English religious exiles in Middelburg, he sent several copies off to London, where the Company of Stationers began to copy them. It is difficult to know how many made it back to England, but it is certain that at least 12 made it to two London booksellers.⁹² Despite Schilders' designs to print a book that would be more palatable to his English readers, his psalter did not sell well in England. As noted earlier, the Scottish influence on the English version was small apart from the tunes for the first 20 psalms. It is possible, then, that it was not *how many* psalm tunes deviated from the Day psalters but *which* psalm tunes deviated that contributed to the volume's dismal sales in England. In the Day tradition, the tunes for the first 20 psalms were the most static of Day's psalter after 1562.⁹³ Perhaps, then, Schilders' introduction of different musical material for these psalms caused problems for those used to the Day psalters.

To credit the volume's lack of success to its "Scottish flavour" ignores several other issues that no doubt influenced sales. As noted earlier, Schilders may not have had a good reputation in England due to his publications supporting Separatist theology. Later these would lead James I to ban all works that had issued from Schilders' press. With this growing reputation, it is understandable how Schilders' psalter, regardless of its merit, might have been unsuccessful. In addition, Schilders did

⁹² Temperley, "Middelburg Psalms," 164.

⁹³ See Appendix B.

not own a patent to print or sell his metrical psalters in England, which was a privilege that still belonged to Richard Day. Seeing the advantage of the new prose-and-metre format, Day enlisted Peter Short to print a version based on Schilders' psalter rather than Schilders himself. However, Short used Schilders' 1599 edition as a template for his 1601 version [*STC* 2505]. Short used the same prose and metrical texts as Schilders, and he printed tunes for the same psalms as Schilders' edition. However, Temperley notes that those tunes differed from Schilders.⁹⁴ While Short returned many of the traditional Day tunes to their original texts, he also incorporated a number from psalters printed by Thomas East in 1592 [*STC* 2482] and 1594 [*STC* 2488]. This Middelburg-style edition created by Short enjoyed some popularity in England, as it appeared in over a dozen editions over the next forty years.⁹⁵

Back in Middelburg, Schilders again tried to profit from his psalters, printing a second pair in 1602. This time he started with the English edition, adjusting the tunes to follow East's 1592 edition. Except for Psalm 66, Schilders changed each of the proper tunes in his original 1599 edition to match those of East's 1592 edition. The Scottish psalters commonly used the tune from Psalm 66, so whether Schilders made an intentional decision to keep it or whether it was an oversight is unclear. What is clear is the influence that East's edition had on Schilders' second English psalter. Since East was Schilders' mentor during his time in London, it is understandable that he would turn to East for a template for his psalter. This does not mean, however, that Schilders printed each tune as it appeared in East's edition. Rather, Schilders preserved many of the tune suggestions that had appeared in his first edition.

For his Scottish version [*STC* 16589], Schilders did the opposite of what he did in his first set. That is, he re-imposed the first few quires from the English in this new

⁹⁴ Temperley, "Middelburg Psalms," 166-77.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Scottish edition. The effect of this on his Scottish version of 1602 was the same as that on his English version of 1599. The first 30 psalms contained 14 proper tunes that deviated from the previous Scottish editions.⁹⁶ With 32 total proper tunes that were different from traditional Scottish psalters, Schilders' 1602 Scottish version gives the sense that it was significantly different from its predecessors. However, a closer look at these deviations reveals that its proper tunes were not particularly different. Of these 32 differences, 22 printed one of three tunes that were popular in the East psalters. Further, Schilders printed the tune from Psalm 108 for five psalms that had previously used other tunes.⁹⁷ He did the same for Psalms 20, 120, and 127, which he paired with the common Scottish tunes of Psalms 14 and 77, and the Lord's Prayer respectively. That leaves just two new proper tunes, which, when added to the three tunes that were so popular in East's psalters, make five proper tunes that were new to Scots. Although he used only a selection of the traditional Scottish tunes in his Scottish version from 1602, it was still a Scottish psalter. While this edition also deviated from its Scottish predecessors in the volume of tunes it included, this difference did not set it apart from his 1599 version. Thus, in the same way that Schilders' 1599 English version was still an English psalter influenced by the Scottish psalters, so his 1602 Scottish version was a Scottish psalter influenced by the English psalters.

The success of Schilders' 1602 editions in their respective countries is hard to discover. The Company of Stationers used Schilders' 1602 English edition for their first edition of the "Middelburg psalms" in 1605 [*STC* 2518].⁹⁸ Though it underwent several musical changes over the next 50 years, the Middelburg format of text and prose content disappeared from English presses after 1649. In Scotland, on the other hand,

⁹⁶ These different proper psalm tunes were Psalms 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 28, and 29. See Appendix B.

⁹⁷ Schilders printed the tune from Psalm 108 for Psalms 10, 35, 95, 109, and 114 in addition to Psalm 108. See Appendix B.

⁹⁸ Temperley discusses this volume and its contents. Temperley, "Middelburg Psalms," 168.

the prose and metre format replaced the metre-only format, as each printed edition up through the "Great" 1635 Psalter used this "Middelburg" format. But, the Middelburg psalters did not have a direct impact on the tunes printed in the Scottish psalters.

Except for Andro Hart's edition of 1611 [*STC* 16591], the following Scottish psalters mainly followed the musical content of their predecessors. Temperley notes, however, that there were a couple of significant differences. Three of the more popular tunes from East's psalters and Schilders' second editions would become some of the most popular psalm tunes in England and Scotland.⁹⁹

Perhaps most importantly, Schilders became the first printer to try to resolve the differences between the English and Scottish psalm traditions. Although many in both countries probably knew of the other's psalters, Schilders' incorporation of Scottish melodies in his English Psalter of 1599 and English melodies in his Scottish Psalter of 1602 were innovative at the time. It is interesting that these two editions appeared when they did, when it was clear that Elizabeth I would die without an heir. Her eventual death in 1603 left James VI to rule both England and Scotland. As the newly crowned King of England and head of the English national church, one of James' priorities was to encourage greater unity and uniformity between the Scottish and English churches under his control. Though his son, Charles, would take the most controversial steps towards unification, the obvious "Anglicising" trend in Schilders' Scottish psalters was part of a larger trend in religion and politics that would lead England and Scotland to war.

⁹⁹ These tunes would become known as Low Dutch, Cambridge, and Oxford in England; and English, London, and Old Common in Scotland.

CHAPTER 5: METRICAL PSALTERS AFTER THE UNION OF THE CROWNS

After Elizabeth I died in 1603, many in England and Scotland eagerly anticipated the reign of James I. The prospects of exerting influence on the English excited many Scots, while a peaceful succession came as a relief to the English. Ironically, the result of a Scottish king on the English throne caused more religious changes in Scotland than in England. Though raised in the Scottish church, James allied himself more with English episcopacy than with Scottish Presbyterianism. However, both national churches continued to wrestle with conformity to established practice and efforts to further reform or change.

Many have studied the progress of the Scottish Kirk before the Bishops' Wars (1639-1640), focusing on the tension between fidelity to the 1560 Scottish Reformation and conformity to the English Church.¹ No one has examined the parallel tension found in Scotland's metrical psalters. Musical content in the English metrical psalters continued to be changeable, both in proper tunes and in tune suggestions. Scottish psalters, on the other hand, underwent a period of musical experimentation only to settle back into the more fixed pattern that characterised the early Scottish metrical psalters. Thus, while Foster correctly asserted that daily and weekly Scottish worship remained unchanged, minute changes began to take hold early in the seventeenth century.²

To examine these changes, this chapter will first establish the state of English metrical psalmody in the early seventeenth century. With over 200 editions printed in England from 1603 to 1640 to consider, the following discussion must group them in

¹ For example, Walter Roland Foster, *The Church Before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland 1596-1638* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975).

² Ibid., 3.

some way.³ More than any other seventeenth-century edition, Ravenscroft's 1621 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: with the hymnes Evanglicall, and Songs Spiritvall* [STC 2575] had an immediate and lasting impact on English-language metrical psalters printed worldwide. Therefore, 1621 serves as a natural line of demarcation in seventeenth-century metrical psalters printed in England.

Having established English print practice, this chapter will then consider the alterations to the Scottish metrical psalters. Scottish psalters underwent a period of adjustment at the beginning of the century, but this eventually stabilised due to the efforts of Andro Hart. Though printed by his heirs, the 1635 edition of *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* [STC 16598], also occupies a prominent position among English-language metrical psalters. Though its influence ultimately did not match that of Ravenscroft's edition in England, it was arguably an anthology, or "best hits," of the Sternhold and Hopkins line of metrical psalters. Due to its wide-ranging musical content, this edition captured the essence of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century metrical psalm singing. Thus, the discussion of the seventeenth-century Scottish psalters up to 1640 will first consider the periods of instability and stability in the early seventeenth century before concluding with an examination of the 1635 edition.

5.1 Developments in English Psalters up to 1621

Metrical psalter printing in England experienced a major shift in the same year that James VI became king of England, as the Company of Stationers took over the patent to print metrical psalms with music. Since 1559, either John or Richard Day had owned this patent, which drew much ire from other printers.⁴ Many of these printers believed that this transfer of control to the Stationers would finally give them an opportunity to profit from the substantial psalter market. Despite the passionate

³ See Appendix B.

⁴ For more details about the "Assigns of Richard Day," see Chapter 4, p. 161.

appeals made against the Day patents and the almost constant release of pirated psalters, these printers' enthusiasm for metrical psalm printing before 1603 did not translate into better psalter editions after 1603, when they were finally able to print psalter editions.⁵ The Company of Stationers did not try to change an already successful product. As noted in previous chapters, the Day psalters had several errors that often went unchanged through the sixteenth century, and errors continued to appear once the Company of Stationers took over the psalter patent. For example, editions continued to pair the text of Psalm 67 with the tune from Psalm 30. Psalm 67 is a SM text, which conflicted with the CM tune from Psalm 30. Though some psalters began to suggest SM tunes such as Psalm 25 or the tune later known as "London" for this text, most early Stationers' editions kept Day's recommendation to use the tune from Psalm 30.⁶

For those interested in singing the psalms as printed, editions often forced people to turn to several psalms successively in order to find the intended psalm tune.⁷ Unfortunately, these exercises in tune hunting persisted in the Stationers' metrical psalters. In a handful of Stationers' editions, these problems got worse. For instance, an edition of the *Whole book* from 1611 [STC 2538] had several tune suggestions that never actually referred to one of its proper tunes. Probably printed by one of the most experienced psalter printers for the Stationers, John Windet, this edition suggests the tune from Psalm 25 for the text of Psalm 67.⁸ Psalm 25 was a SM text, and the Day

⁵ For more discussion about the passionate cases brought against the Day patents, see Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures, and Patronage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 170-3; Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24-5; Cyril Bathurst Judge, *Elizabethan Book-Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), 149-55.

⁶ See Appendix B.

⁷ See, for example, p. 90.

⁸ Though the printer John Wolfe seems to have printed many of the earliest psalters for the Assigns of Richard Day, Windet took over the psalter printing around 1591 (See Appendix B), releasing over 28 psalter editions for the Assigns. According to the STC, Windet printed this particular edition for the Stationers. STC 2538.

psalters often printed a proper tune for it. Rather than printing the usual proper tune from Psalm 25, however, this 1611 edition suggests that readers use the tune from Psalm 45. The problem is that Psalm 45 never appeared with a proper tune; instead, it often appeared with the suggestion to use the tune from Psalm 25. This edition was no exception, leaving both psalm texts with suggestions that did not refer to a tune. Had this problem been an isolated one in just one of the Stationers' psalters, the mistake would have been understandable. However, it reappeared in a number of later editions.⁹ Many of the Stationers' psalters suggested the tune from Psalm 25 for other texts as well, so this problem had a rolling impact on other texts, including Psalms 50, 67, 70, and 134.¹⁰

Given the issues that resulted, it is puzzling why Windet's psalter dropped the proper tune from Psalm 25. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Day psalters settled into abridged and complete versions, and Windet continued in this vein, maintaining several concurrent psalter series. Several physical characteristics helped to distinguish between these editions. For instance, one of these series is known as the sol-fa psalters since they provided the solfege syllables for the tunes. First appearing in 1569, these psalters appeared as quartos and had two columns on each page. While Windet printed many sol-fa editions, their title pages distinguished them from his other quarto psalters.¹¹ In particular, the sol-fa psalters all used a woodcut depicting the resurrection of Jesus, crushing the head of the serpent while stepping out of a coffin. Windet probably received the woodcut from John Wolfe, one of Richard Day's Assigns, who used it on his 1591 sol-fa psalter [*STC* 2479]. From 1591-1610, Windet used this woodcut only on his sol-fa psalters, with two exceptions: *STCs* 2502 and 2513. Such an

⁹ For more examples, see *STCs* 2542, 2545, 2552.3, 2556, 2558, and 2561.

¹⁰ See Appendix B.

¹¹ Ian Green first proposed this idea of editions based on volume size. See Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 508-9, 511-17.

almost exclusive use of this particular woodcut suggests that Windet—and perhaps his readers—equated its appearance with sol-fa psalters.

Similar to Windet's sol-fa psalters, the editions that did not print the proper tune from Psalm 25 also had some distinguishing characteristics. These appear in octavo format with two columns on each page, and their title pages employ an intricate, two-dimensional geometric—or “fleurion type”—border instead of the woodcut from the sol-fa psalters or the more pictorial borders of many of his other editions.¹² Something therefore must have distinguished these editions from his others, warranting a unique design and layout. Interestingly, the dual-column octavo editions using these geometric borders on their title pages contained only 47 proper tunes, while all of his other psalters printed between 56 and 61 proper tunes. Windet probably used this combination of layout, book size, and title page border to distinguish between his cheaper abridged psalter and his more expensive complete psalters. In contrast, the complete editions used any other size or layout and often had a more pictorial title-page border depicting statuary, cherubs, or King David, among other things.

As a careful study of Appendix B shows, these abridged versions commonly omitted eleven other proper tunes in addition to the tune from Psalm 25, so one could argue they were departing from common usage.¹³ Comparing the prevalence of the proper tunes for each of these psalms before and after 1603 (Appendix C), reveals that printers did not continue to provide these tunes as often. With the exceptions of the proper tune from Psalms 145 (Tune: 182, *HTI*), each tune appeared in more than 10% fewer editions after 1604 and the majority appeared in more than 25% fewer editions. The most drastic of these was the proper tune from Psalm 88 (Tune: 176a, *HTI*), which

¹² Jeremy Smith has categorised the borders used on Thomas East's prints, so the “fleurion type” border description fits with his analysis. See Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 148-74.

¹³ These were Psalms 41, 52, 88, 111, 120, 121, 125, 134, 136, 141, and 145.

appeared in 68% of the metrical psalter editions before 1603, and only 11% thereafter. These numbers suggest that people sang these tunes less often, so printers increasingly omitted them from their psalters.

It is difficult to determine the reasons why these tunes were less popular and printed less often after 1603. One might posit that their metres were one reason that tunes dropped out of common usage. Of these 12 tunes, seven were written in either common or small metre; the other five were written in various other metres.¹⁴ Since these more irregular metres could fit relatively few texts, one would presume they were sung less often and thus did not become as popular as the tunes in other metres. However, several oddly metred tunes evidently were popular. According to Appendix C, the tunes for Psalms 113, 122, 124, 126, 130, and 148 continued to appear in a vast majority (more than 94%) of psalter editions after 1603. The tunes from Psalms 113, 122, and 136 had the same metres as other texts in the psalter—Psalms 112, 121, and 148, respectively—and presumably could have been sung more often due to these pairings. The rest used unique metres not duplicated in the *Whole booke*.¹⁵ Therefore, these particular texts and their proper tunes—along with their more peculiar metres—must have been in common usage through 1640, indicating that metrical considerations were not the sole reason that tunes became less popular in the seventeenth century.

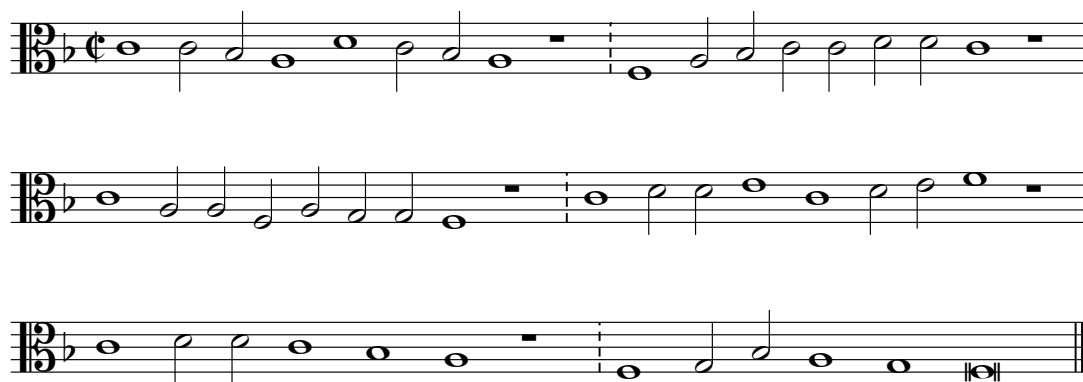
In addition to these persisting tunes, the metre theory does not account for the CM and SM tunes that began to disappear from these seventeenth-century editions. Another possibility is that the tunes dropped from these editions had less a sense of modern tonality than those that remained, but this theory also has some problems. For

¹⁴ Psalms 41, 52, 88, 134, 141, and 145 were written in either DCM or CM, while Psalm 25 was SM. On the other hand, Psalm 111 was 6.6.6.6.6.6.D., 120 was 6.6.6.6.6.6., 121 was 8.6.6.8.7.7., 125 was 8.8.8.8.6.6., and 136 was 6.6.6.6.8.8.

¹⁵ Psalm 122 was 6.6.8.D, Psalm 124 was 10.10.10.10.10., Psalm 126 was 12.12.12.12.10.10., Psalm 130 was 7.6.7.6., and Psalm 148 was 6.6.6.6.8.8.

example, the fact that a more “tonal” tune such as Psalm 125 (Figure 5.1) was dropped, while a more modal tune such as Psalm 130 (Figure 4.4) remained, contradicts this theory. It is also difficult to account for the decreasingly popular quasi-“tonal” tunes such as Psalms 25, 52, 121, and 125. As indicated in previous discussions, it is difficult to ascertain the precise reasons any particular psalm tune became less popular, as it could have resulted from any number of possibilities. Though metre and “tonality” may have been contributing factors, others such as harmonies, references to other sacred and secular tunes, ease of performance, and personal preference could also have been influenced a tune’s popularity.

Figure 5.1: Tune from Psalm 125 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]



While some proper tunes within the metrical psalters were printed less frequently after 1603, the number of tunes that psalters paired with each text increased. As Appendix C shows, the tune repertory either stayed the same or increased for the vast majority of psalm texts. In fact, only Psalms 1, 24, 50, the second version of 51, and 127 were paired with fewer tunes—counting both proper tunes and tune suggestions—after 1603. This suggests that the consolidation of tune repertories at the end of the sixteenth century was only temporary.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Chapter 4, p. 177.

Figure 5.2: Tune from Psalm 51 in the 1562 *Whole booke* [STC 2430]

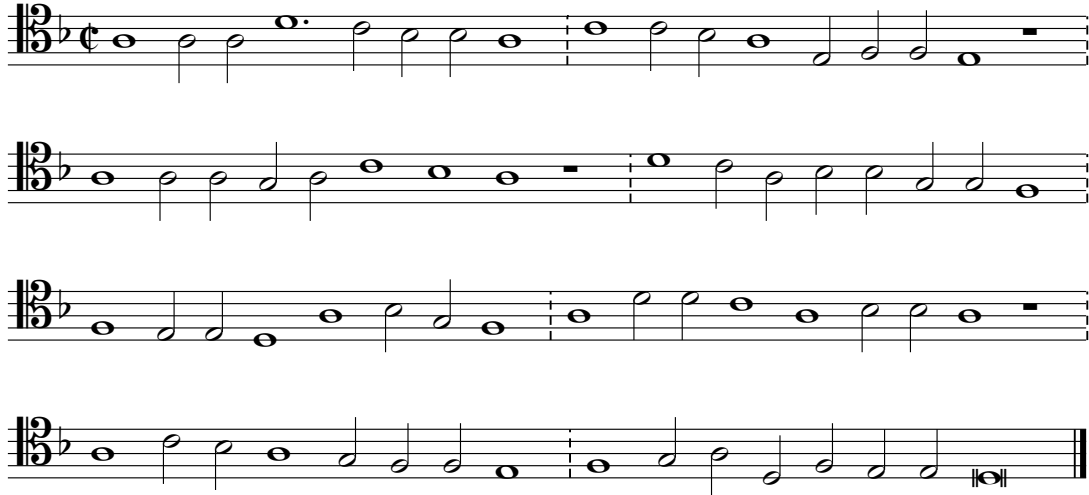
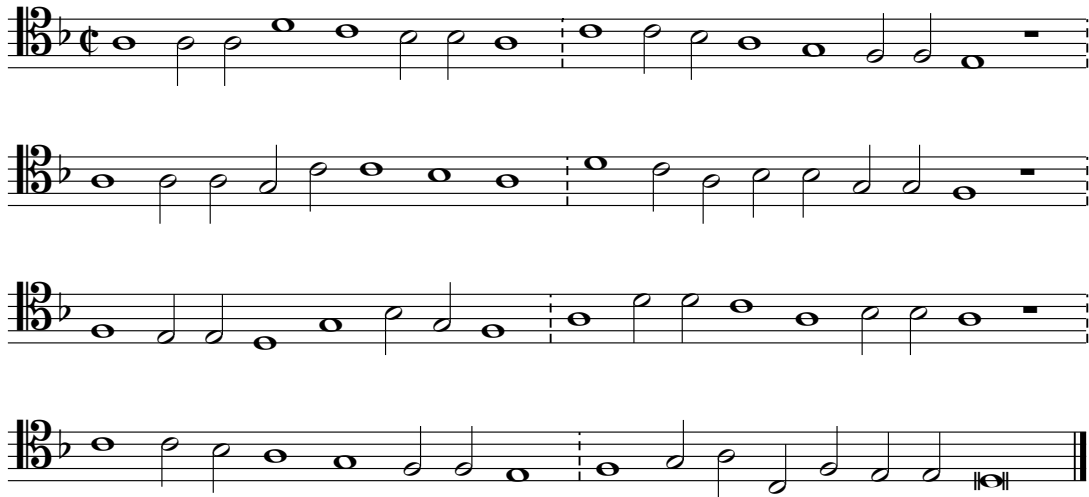


Figure 5.3: Tune from Psalm 51 in the 1604 *Whole booke* [STC 2513]



Besides the text-tune pairings of these psalters, the melodic and rhythmic diversity of the tunes printed in the Stationers' psalters from 1600 to 1621 deserves consideration. In light of the discussion in the previous chapter, it is important to determine if the tunes continued to vary in psalm editions printed by the Stationers. As one of the first of those editions, Windet's *The Whole booke of Psalmes* [STC 2513], is an edition that is particularly well suited as a standard with which to compare later editions. This does not mean that Windet's 1604 psalter was any more accurate than other metrical psalters printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the

other psalter editions, it deviated from the 1562 *Whole booke*.¹⁷ For instance, Windet's 1604 version of Psalm 51 (Figure 5.3) strays from the *Whole booke* version of the same tune (Figure 5.2). In addition to some small deviations in pitch, there are rhythmic differences in the first phrase of the first and fourth lines, as the 1604 version smoothed the dotted rhythm and removed some semibreves to create a more regular rhythmic pattern. Despite these differences, Windet's 1604 *Whole booke* remained fairly close to the original versions of the tunes that appeared in Day's 1562 *Whole booke*, which makes it suitable for comparisons.

While small variations continued to appear in most of the printed tunes in each of the Stationers' editions, noteworthy differences appeared in the 1610 tune version. Though these are still small in comparison with some other examples, they are more significant, considering that the text of Psalm 51 was probably one of the best-known psalms before the Reformation in England¹⁸ and that its popularity probably continued after the Reformation. The metrical psalters printed in both England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries always printed the same proper tune for Psalm 51, which was uncommon for metrical psalm tunes.¹⁹ This suggests that people in both countries knew and regularly sang Psalm 51 with the same proper tune. Of all the tunes in the Day and Stationers' metrical psalters, later editions should thus have accurately transmitted Psalm 51. However, as Psalm 51 shows, misprints or variations remained, even in the more popular tunes. Despite these inaccuracies, Windet's 1604


¹⁷ Even the 1562 *Whole booke* suffered from accuracy problems. See Chapter 2, pp. 84, 91.

¹⁸ As one of the seven "Penitential Psalms," people commonly learned the Latin *Miserere* in medieval England since it was a "neck verse" for those who sought the benefit of clergy. That is, they could avoid trial in secular courts and/or stiff penalties and punishments (including hanging) by reciting the *Miserere*. In addition, recipes often reference the *Miserere* as a method of measuring time. Jane Dawson, "*Miserere*/Psalm 51 in the Wode Part-books," (presentation for the Wode Research Network, Edinburgh, October 15, 2009).

¹⁹ The only known exceptions to this are the editions of William Hunnis' *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne*. Otherwise, all the metrical psalters with music printed the same proper tune from Psalm 51. This includes the Ainsworth, Cosyn, Daman, Day, East, Ravenscroft, Schilders, and Stationers editions in England; and all the editions printed in Scotland. See Appendix B.


psalter serves as a foundation—no matter how flawed—for examining the tune variations printed in the metrical psalters under the Stationers’ control from 1604-1640. The following discussion will first consider the major deviations that occurred under the Stationers’ watch, with examples from Psalms 137 and 30. Then, it will examine the minor variations in tunes from their editions.

Figure 5.4: Third line from Psalm 137 in the 1604 *Whole booke* [STC 2513]



2. We hanged our harps and in - stru - ments the wil - low trees vp - on
 4. A - las said we who can once frame his sorrow-full heart to sing:
 6. And let my tongue with - in my mouth be tied for eu - er fast:
 [7.] Re - mem - ber Lord their cru - ell words,when as with one ac - cord,
 9. Yea bless - ed shall that man be cald, that takes thy child-ren young:

Figure 5.5: Third line from Psalm 137 in the 1620 *Whole booke* [STC 2570.5]



2. We hang'd our Harps and in - stru - ments the wil - low trees vp - on:
 4. A - las said we, who can once frame, his sorrow-full heart to sing
 6. And let my tongue with - in my mouth, be tyed for eu - er fast:
 [7.] Re - mem - ber Lord their cru - ell words,when as with one ac - cord:
 9. Yea bless - ed shall that man be cald, that takes thy Child-ren yong:

The proper tune from Psalm 137 provides a characteristic example of how the tunes continued to vary in the Stationers’ psalters. Appearing in many Day and Stationers’ psalters after 1560, most also regularly used this tune as a tune suggestion.²⁰ Despite such popularity, the version of the tune printed in an edition of the 1620 *Whole booke* [STC 2570.5] (Figure 5.5) deviated significantly from the 1604 edition (Figure 5.4). The first phrase of the third line deviates from the rhythm of the 1604 version, stressing the third, sixth, and eighth notes rather than the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth notes. The result converts the rhythmic pulse of the line from duple in the 1604 version to triple in the 1620 version, which results in some absurd

²⁰ The Day and Stationers’ psalters often suggested this tune for Psalms 133, 139, and 146. See Appendix B.

accentuation patterns in the second and ninth verses especially. Rather than emphasising the more important words such as “hang’d” or “Harps,” the modified rhythm of the 1620 version emphasises “our.” Similarly, the same change results in accentuating the verb ending of “blessed,” which was one that psalter compilers often tried to avoid.²¹ Apart from these rhythmic differences, the pitches of the 1620 version contrast sharply with the 1604 version. The 1604 version may be preferable to the 1620 version because of the awkward leap from e^1 to b^1 in the latter, but the latter has no other fundamental flaws. However, later psalters did not employ these changes, suggesting these were an aberration rather than a reflection of common performance practice.

It is important to note that the tunes from Psalms 51 and 137 were not the only ones that varied after 1603, and these variations began long before the Stationers officially controlled the metrical psalm patent. As discussed in Chapter 4, significant variations to the proper psalm tunes began to appear more regularly under the control of the Assigns of Richard Day. While the previous two examples have shown that this trend continued under the Stationers as well, the proper tune from Psalm 30 illustrates this continuity of change between the pre- and post-1603 editions.

A 1610 edition [*STC* 2536] displays many of the different variations that appeared in the seventeenth-century versions of the tune. A few pitches in the first line of the 1610 version (Figure 5.7) differ from the 1604 version (Figure 5.6), but none is as significant as the first note. Even a difference of a minor third would have had a negative impact on the performance of the tune. For those who could not read the tune and thus relied on the opening few notes to establish in their minds which tune was

²¹ See Chapter 1, p. 58.

being sung, a modified opening note could be the difference between one tune and another in the minds of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century psalm singers.²²

Figure 5.6: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1604 *Whole booke* [STC 2513]

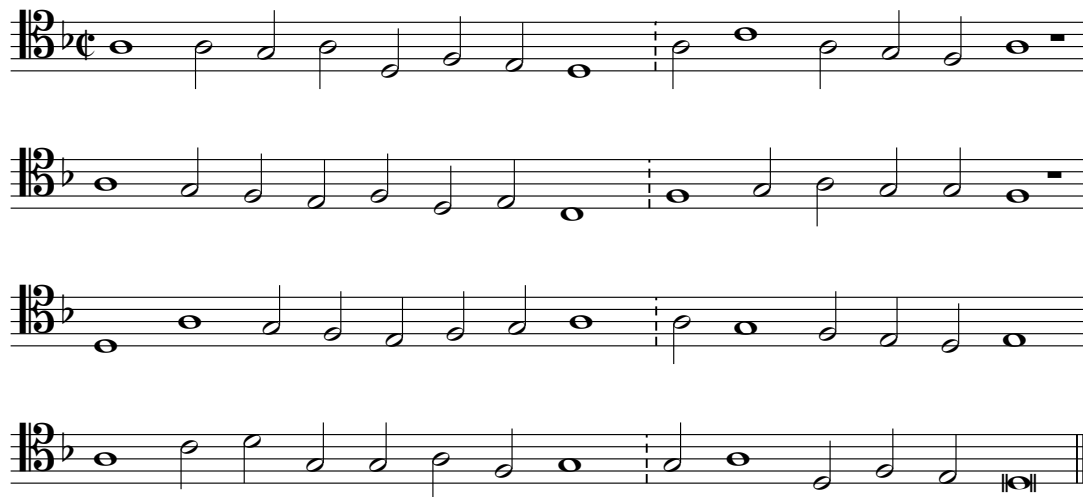
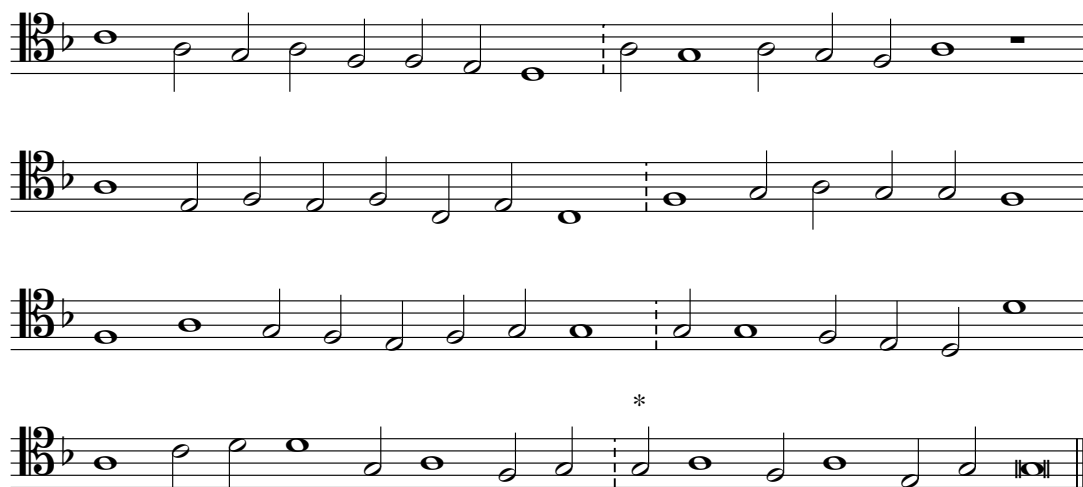


Figure 5.7: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1610 [*Whole booke*] [STC 2536]



*Phrase contains an extra note.

Minor deviations are similarly observable in the second and third lines, but they also have a harmful collective effect on the flow of the melody. Those differences found in the second line provide no melodic advantages over the original but instead make it more static and repetitive. The third line deviates so much that once again the listener

²² The responsibilities of the precentor in psalm singing is discussed further in Chapter 6.

and performer probably would have questioned if this 1610 version was indeed the same tune as the 1604 version. In particular, the octave leap towards the end of the line would have been especially jarring.

The most significant change of the whole tune appears at the end. Rather than closing on d, the *finalis* of the 1610 version is on g. This transforms the tune from a straightforward transposed mode 9 to transposed mode 2 mixed with transposed mode 9. Such significant changes once again leave the twenty-first century analyst wondering about the reasoning behind the changes, but another anomaly in the fourth line may provide some help in this regard. As noted in Figure 5.7, there is an extra note printed in its final phrase, suggesting that this version may have been particularly susceptible to misprints. Considering there was a page-turn between the a¹ and e in the final phrase of the fourth line, the changed *finalis* may have resulted from a careless printer or editor. Regardless of the intentions behind these changes, paired with the deviations in Psalms 51 and 137 described earlier, they demonstrate that the tunes in the Stationers' psalters continued to vary.

Just as the tunes printed in the Day psalters changed over time, so did the tunes printed in the Stationers' psalters through 1621. While there were occasionally major deviations from the standard forms of the proper psalm tunes, these had almost no lasting effects on the tunes in later psalters. Given the state of metrical psalm printing in the seventeenth century, it is surprising that more errors did not persist in later editions. Printers often used previous editions as templates, which would have made it easy to perpetuate misprints. In addition, the Stationers allowed various printers to produce metrical psalters, which also should have allowed mistakes to become more persistent. Since only a few minor mistakes continued to appear in later editions, the evidence suggests that the Stationers provided some quality control that restrained recurring major aberrations in the proper psalm tunes. Even more importantly, a

popular repertory of tunes known to the majority of people probably also preserved a general understanding of how each psalm tune sounded.

5.2 English Psalters from 1621 to 1640

The 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575] included four-part harmonisations of the psalm and canticle tunes that were "Newly corrected and enlarged by Tho[mas]: Rauenscroft Bachelor of Musicke." A composer and editor, Ravenscroft became known for editing secular songs, ballads, and rounds. At the time that he compiled his psalter, he was the music master at Christ's Hospital, teaching the children pricksong, or mensural music.²³ Ravenscroft probably used East's psalters as a foundation for his own version, as suggested by Robert Illing.²⁴ However, Ravenscroft made his version unique by adding 55 of his own tune harmonisations. He also provided harmonised versions of the Common Tunes, naming them after the English and Welsh cathedral towns and places with collegiate choirs, as well as locations in Scotland and the European mainland.²⁵ These, along with Ravenscroft's introductions, provide valuable insights into the state of psalm performance in England at the time.

Thomas Ravenscroft and his 1621 *Whole booke* have received much attention through the years, with good reason. Despite this attention, Temperley noted the fact that most previous studies of the "English" psalters had focused mainly on the psalm harmonisations and not their tunes.²⁶ Though Temperley's efforts have begun to correct this issue, the impact of the tunes in Ravenscroft's edition has yet to be discussed at length. While some have considered Ravenscroft's Common Tunes and the lasting impact of his text-tune pairings, few have considered Ravenscroft's variations to

²³ David Mateer, "Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2)," *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23172.

²⁴ Robert Illing, *Ravenscroft's revision of Est's Psalter* (Adelaide: Robert Illing, 1985).

²⁵ *MEPC*, 1:72-3.

²⁶ Nicholas Temperley, "John Playford and the Metrical Psalms," *JAMS* 25 no. 3 (Autumn, 1972): 332-3.

the traditional psalm melodies and their influence on later psalters. The current discussion will seek to correct this gap in modern scholarship, examining the influence of the Ravenscroft editions on later Stationers' psalters.

Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* was not the first to provide harmonisations for its psalm tunes. As noted previously, Allison, Barley, Cosyn, Daman, and East also had printed harmonised editions of the psalter before 1621. Each included many of the proper psalm tunes from the 1562 *Whole booke*, and sometimes they had to change the tunes in order to fit their harmonisations. However, the melodic changes these men introduced did not have a significant impact on later monophonic psalters, while Ravenscroft's edition did. In particular, the tunes of Psalms 30, 51, and 119 show the general trends of the Stationers' psalters after 1621.

The tune from Psalm 119 is a prime example of an important shift that occurred in music printing in the seventeenth century. Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575] included the harmonised version of Psalm 119 by Giles Farnaby that first appeared in East's 1592 *Whole booke* [STC 2482]. Returning in each consecutive East edition before 1621, this tune variation (Figure 5.9) includes a number of accidentals that did not appear in the traditional versions (Figure 5.8). Since each of these changes align with the situations in which singers often employed *musica ficta*, it is possible that these apparent changes had been part of normal performance practice for some time, if not from 1556, when the tune first appeared. The accidentals added in the first, second, third, and at the end of the fourth lines all serve to create a leading tone to the cadences that immediately follow. In addition to leading back down to a¹, the flat at the beginning of the fourth line avoids the tritone outline that would have resulted with the skip down to f just two notes later. The "changes" printed to the tune from Psalm 119 in Ravenscroft's edition and those that followed therefore may not have been changes

at all. Instead, they may have been an example of a printer providing the accidentals rather than expecting singers to insert them.

Figure 5.8: Tune from Psalm 119 in the 1604 *Whole booke* [STC 2513]

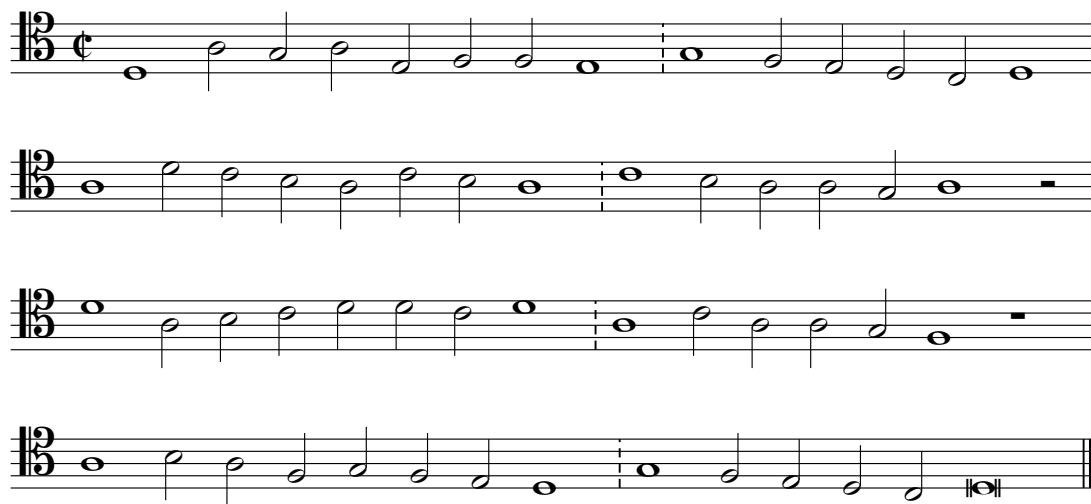
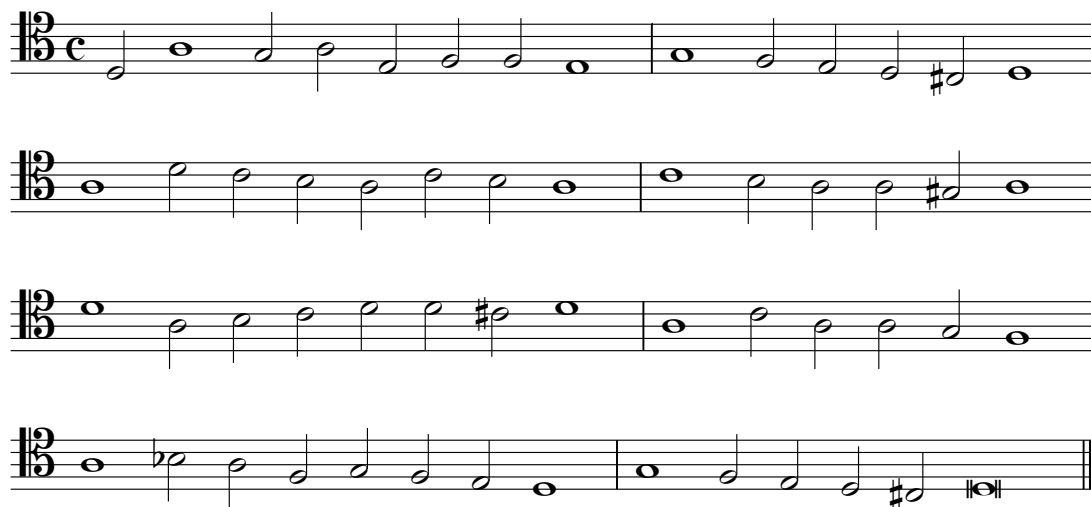


Figure 5.9: Tune from Psalm 119 in Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575]



The one change that Ravenscroft printed in his version of Psalm 30 was different, however. While half of the editions printed after 1621 also retained this change, it cannot be attributed to the application of *ficta*.²⁷ The only alteration

²⁷ A list of all the editions using Ravenscroft's new tune version would be unwieldy, but consider STCs 2581, 2607, 2624, 2665, and 2699 as examples.

Ravenscroft made to the tune was a printed $c\sharp$ at the midpoint of the second line (Figure 5.10). Despite the example cited above, the use of *musica ficta* in metrical psalm tunes is questionable according to Temperley.²⁸ He notes that in D modes, performers often applied a sharp to a C in order to create an anticipated resolution on D.²⁹ However, the melody for Psalm 30 did not necessitate *ficta* at the midpoint of the second line. The phrase following the $c\sharp$ stresses F by beginning and ending on f, and emphasis on D does not occur until the final phrase in the fourth line. Since the accidental is so far removed from the emphasis on D, the $c\sharp$ in the second line probably was not an example of printed *ficta*. There must be another explanation for the departure. The $c\sharp$ most likely resulted from Ravenscroft's four-part realisation of the tune. Indeed, replacing c with $c\sharp$ changes the final chord of the phrase from a-minor to a-major, which was common practice at the time (Figure 5.11). While the following phrase immediately moves away from d to the mediant, the accidental makes sense only within the context of Ravenscroft's harmonisation.

Figure 5.10: Tenor of Psalm 30 in Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575]



²⁸ See Chapter 6, pp. 263-5.

²⁹ *MEPC*, 1:65.

Figure 5.11: Second line of Psalm 30 in Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575]

*"Barlines" original

Figure 5.12: Tenor from Psalm 51 in the 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575]

The change observed in Psalm 30 was not unique. Similar trends are observable in other tunes such as the one from Psalm 51 (Figure 5.12). Comparing Ravenscroft's version with the others reveals that Ravenscroft modified the tune only by adding one sharp at the midpoint of the third line. As with the example of Ravenscroft's version of Psalm 30, this modified pitch in the melody was not necessitated by an awkward melodic interval, nor was it an attempt to create a leading tone in the melody. In addition, the same melodic progression occurs at the end of the

second line (b^1 -g-f), only without the sharp. Therefore, it probably was not an example in which the printer decided to print the *ficta* that had been commonly used in performance practice.

Figure 5.13: First line from Psalm 51 in the 1621 *Whole booke* [STC 2575]



Without the context provided by the differing harmonic progressions in these two lines, there seems to be no reason to modify the f at the midpoint of the third line. For the sake of comparison, Figure 5.13 reproduces the end of the second line and the beginning of the third line of Psalm 51 in Ravenscroft's 1621 edition. Ravenscroft's choice to cadence the second line with an F-major chord and the midpoint of the third line with a D-major chord reveals the reason for the sharpened tenor note at the midpoint of the third line. Once again, the reason behind the change to the tune lies in Ravenscroft's harmonisation, not performance practice and *musica ficta*.

These changes along with similar changes to other psalm tunes began to appear regularly in the Stationers' psalters after 1621. Since many were attributable to the harmonisations, it is interesting that these later monophonic editions often reproduced the changes.³⁰ The perpetuated accidentals such as those discussed in Psalms 30 and 51 suggest that Ravenscroft's psalter changed the way the Stationers approached the

³⁰ For examples, see STCs 2593, 2598, 2612, 2637, 2661.5, and 2696.

tunes in many of their psalters.³¹ Since these changes resulted from the tune harmonisations in Ravenscroft's psalter, there must have been a concerted effort by the Stationers to promote the psalm settings in his psalter. Despite the monophonic psalm settings in these later editions, the Stationers probably intended singers to use them with the Ravenscroft harmonisations.³²

While the Ravenscroft Psalter had an effect on the proper tunes printed in many of the psalters through 1640, it did not affect the tune suggestions. For example, one of the more common suggestions for the text of Psalm 67 was the tune from the "Humble suit of sinner" in the 1630s. Like many other tune suggestions for Psalm 67, however, it was unsuitable for the text because it was a CM tune. Adding further frustration to this problem, the psalters that suggested the tune from the "Humble suit" for the text of Psalm 67 made their readers turn to four different psalms before finally directing them to the "Humble suit." For instance, a 1633 edition [*STC* 2642] suggested the tune from Psalm 25 for the text of Psalm 67. Turning to Psalm 25, the reader would find a suggestion to use the tune from Psalm 46, which in turn would suggest the tune from Psalm 35. After arriving at Psalm 35, the reader would find yet another tune suggestion, but this time it would lead to the familiar tune of the "Humble suit." Such an involved process for discovering the intended tune for a psalm text not only raises questions about performance practice, but also confirms that the Stationers' printers could be just as careless as John Day and the Assigns of Richard Day.

In addition to these exercises in tune hunting, some editions broadened the repertory of psalm tunes paired with each text. The previous chapter discussed the tune quantities within the psalters and the diversity of tunes associated with particular psalm texts. Examining the tunes suggested for Psalms 6 and 117 as representative

³¹ Other psalm tunes affected include those from Psalms 18, 69, 71, 126, and 130.

³² For a discussion of how this may have happened in common performance practice, see Chapter 6.

examples for discussion reveals the same pattern.³³ Psalters printed under the Stationers' control before 1640 paired Psalm 6 with five different psalm tunes either through printed tune or tune suggestion.³⁴ Of these five tunes, four appeared in psalters from 1630-1640, and three of those appeared in the final five years of the same time-span (Table 5.1). Though small, these numbers signal a trend in the other psalm tunes. The Stationers printed over 18 different tunes or tune suggestions for Psalm 117 from 1604-1640.³⁵ Thirteen of these appeared from 1630 to 1640, and editions use ten of these in the final five years of that span. Nearly half of the total collection of tunes printed in the Stationers' psalters for any particular text appeared from 1635-1640.³⁶ Overall, then, the numbers suggest that only slight simplification and consolidation occurred for the tunes paired with psalm texts.

Table 5.1: Tunes paired with Psalms 6 and 117 from 1600-40*

Psalm text	Tune pairings 1600-1640	Tune pairings 1630-1640	Tune pairings 1635-1640
6	62a, 65, 113a, 158a, 250b	62a, 65, 113a, 158a	62a, 65, 158a
117	62a, 84b, 114, 117, 128a, 158a, 159a, 160a, 164a, 170a, 171, 175a, 177, 201a, 205a, 249a, 275a, 379a	62a, 84b, 128a, 158a, 159a, 160a, 162a, 164a, 170a, 171, 175a, 249a, 275a	62a, 84b, 128a, 158a, 159a, 160a, 162a, 170a, 175a, 275a

*Tunes listed by *HTI* designation

Though many English psalter editions followed it, none had the impact of Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole booke* until Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady's 1696 *A New Uersion of the Psalms of David*.³⁷ As noted earlier, Ravenscroft was the first to name most of the Common Tunes, printing these as alternatives to the proper tunes. He

³³ As Appendix C shows, most of the tune repertories for each psalm text increased in the 1600s.

³⁴ The tunes printed for this text include *HTIs* 65 and 250b, while the tune suggestions include *HTIs* 62a, 113a, and 158a. See Appendix C.

³⁵ The printed tune from Psalm 117 is *HTI* 249a, while its tune suggestions include 62a, 84b, 114, 128a, 158a, 159a, 160a, 164a, 170a, 171, 175a, 177, 201a, 205a, 275a, and 379a. *Ibid.*

³⁶ See Appendix B.

³⁷ Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, *A New Uersion of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches* (London: M. Clark, 1696).

suggests these common tunes were "vsually sung in Cathedrall Churches, Colegiats, Chappels, &c. As also, the forraigne Tunes vsually sung in Great Brittain." ³⁸

Ravenscroft's proper psalm tune settings were "so Composed, for the most part, that the vnskilfull may with little practice, be enabled to sing them in parts, after a plausible manner." ³⁹ Chapter 6 considers whether his tune settings were successful in appealing to the musically unskilled, but clearly, Ravenscroft sought to make his tunes marketable to people with varying musical abilities. This marketability, with the help from his colleagues in the Company of Stationers, helped to assure the success of his volume. Therefore, Ravenscroft's psalter was one of the few individual editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms to exercise a lasting influence on the tune versions printed in later editions.

5.3 Scottish Metrical Psalters in the Seventeenth Century

While English psalter printers moved from the Assigns of Richard Day to the Company of Stationers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a similar transition occurred in Scotland at the same time. However, the transition in Scotland had a greater immediate impact on the printed psalters of the time. Printers introduced minor musical changes in the Scottish psalters up to 1601, but Richard Schilders' Middelburg psalters sent the Scottish psalters into relative chaos at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For about ten years, printers displaced some of the proper tunes of the Scottish psalter, replacing them with some of Schilders' new tunes or removing others. The musical stasis that had characterised the Scottish psalters of the previous century disappeared at the turn of the seventeenth century, and no printer in Scotland had the ability to supply an immediate sense of stability.

³⁸ *STCs* 2575 and 2575.3.

³⁹ "To All that Have Skill," *STC* 2575.3.

As noted in Chapter 4, the printer Richard Schilders had a significant impact on the Scottish metrical psalter through a license issued to John Gibson. However, James' accession to the English throne damaged his business. While he had printed two acceptable psalters during James' Scottish reign, the printer could not shake his negative reputation in England. What little hope Schilders had of breaking into the English market under James I disappeared after he printed the anonymous *A faithful report of the Assemblie of Ministers at Aberdeen* [STC 63], which, as an account of the illegal General Assembly of 1605, had been banned by James.⁴⁰ With Schilders out of the picture, other printers could claim the entire Scottish market.

In 1599-1600, the printer Robert Smyth acquired the patent for printing the normal psalter as well as the Middelburg-format psalter from John Gibson.⁴¹ Smyth did not own these patents long, as he died just two years later. His son then sold these patents to Thomas Finlason, who was the King's printer. Interestingly, none of these men—Gibson, Smyth, or Finlason—ever printed a metrical psalter, which is puzzling considering the time and money that each invested in securing the psalm patent. It is possible that neither Gibson nor Smyth had the necessary capital and resources to undertake a metrical psalter.⁴² As the King's printer, however, Finlason must have had the required financial resources, but his responsibilities to the government probably kept him very busy.⁴³

Oddly enough, two men who did not own the psalter patent either commissioned or printed most of the Scottish psalter editions from 1587-1640 without any repercussions. As noted in Chapter 4, Henry Charteris printed and commissioned

⁴⁰ Alastair J Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade: 1500-1720* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 79.

⁴¹ These were not the only patents acquired by Smyth from Gibson. *Ibid.*, 239-40.

⁴² For an idea of how costly psalter printing could be in Scotland, consider the discussion of the printer Lekpreuik and his Scottish Psalter of 1564/5 in Chapter 3.

⁴³ Finlason did not ever print an edition of the psalter, but as Mann illustrates in the example of *The Works of Sir David Lindsay*, it was common in Scotland for patent holders to arrange for others to print their patented items for them. Mann, *Book Trade*, 110.

several psalters from 1587 until his death in 1599. While his son Robert continued the business after 1599, Andro Hart seemingly acquired most of it within a few years.⁴⁴ In 1601, the partnership of Hart and the heirs of Charteris commissioned two editions of the Scottish psalter from the presses of Abraham and Isaac Canin in Dort. The sixteenmo edition [STC 16588] lists Abraham Canin as the printer and the octavo [STC 2702] lists Isaac Canin.⁴⁵ Based on the tunes included in the Canin psalters, they must have used several editions as templates for their psalters. Abraham modelled his sixteenmo edition after the more "English" style of the 1599 Middelburg version since it printed only 73 proper tunes and did not include tune suggestions for many of the final 50 psalms. Isaac's octavo version, on the other hand, was more like a traditional Scottish psalter, including 110 printed tunes and the *Forme of praiers*, which was omitted from the sixteenmo version.

While the octavo version followed the traditional Scottish pattern of tune quantity, neither of the Canin psalters adhered to the musical content of most sixteenth-century Scottish psalters. Besides omitting a tune or tune suggestion for 40 psalm texts, Abraham Canin's sixteenmo edition printed 15 tunes and tune suggestions that differed from most sixteenth-century Scottish psalters. Even Isaac's octavo edition changed 16 tunes and tune suggestions. Considering the static nature of Scottish metrical psalters in the sixteenth century, such a set of changes is significant. The reasons behind these changes remain unclear, as little is known about these printers and the circumstances surrounding their metrical psalm editions.

How Charteris and Hart managed to print and commission these psalters without owning the psalm patent remains a mystery. Alastair Mann postulates that Charteris and Gibson had an arrangement, and that something similar must have

⁴⁴ Henry Charteris passed his business on to his son who was also named Henry. But, another son, Robert, took over most of the business rather than Henry. Joseph Marshall, "Charteris, Henry (*d.* 1599)," in *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/5176.

⁴⁵ Not much is known about either of these printers.

existed between Hart and Smyth, and later Hart and Finlason.⁴⁶ It would be difficult to believe that people would have respected Charteris and Hart or their work if they were book pirates. It is similarly difficult to believe that Smyth or Finlason would not have protected their patent from such piracy.⁴⁷

However Charteris and Hart resolved the patent issue, seven Scottish psalters appeared from 1594-1602, but printers did not produce any from 1602-1607, which would be the longest amount of time between Scottish editions before 1640. There could be many reasons for this gap. First, James VI moved to London in 1603 to become James I of England, which undoubtedly had repercussions for the printers and booksellers in Edinburgh. Though not directly stated by any printer at the time, the uncertain future of the Scottish psalter may also have been a cause. As has been mentioned previously, the General Assembly in 1601 asked Robert Pont to "revise the psalmes, and that his labours sould be revised at the next assemblie."⁴⁸ Although no revision was produced, it would have been difficult for any printer to risk printing a psalter that soon could be out-of-date.

Two years later, Hart began to add printing to his growing bookselling business. At first, he worked with his Presbyterian colleagues, the booksellers Richard Lawson and James Caithkin, printing *The CL Psalmes of David in Prose and Meter* [STC 16589.5] in 1607.⁴⁹ Since this was the first psalter printed by Hart, he used the abridged sixteenmo version by Abraham Canin as a template. The only extant version of Hart's first psalter is incomplete, but it displays his involvement in the psalter printing business over the 11 years leading up to this 1607 psalter. There were only four

⁴⁶ Mann, *Book Trade*, 110n.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ David Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 6:124. John Row does not use these words, but the account is also recorded in his work: John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 208.

⁴⁹ Both Hart and Caithkin were committed presbyterians, as both men were jailed on 17 December 1596 after allegedly inciting the 'presbyterian' riot in Edinburgh. Mann, *Book Trade*, 26.

deviations from this template (Table 5.2), and at least two were misprints. His decisions not to print a tune or tune suggestion for Psalms 68 and 77 were probably unintentional since the Canin psalters provided a suggestion for Psalm 68 and a proper tune for Psalm 77. For the other two psalms, Psalms 58 and 76, Hart chose instead to follow the tunes printed in Isaac Canin and Charteris' volumes. Apart from these minor deviations, Hart's first psalter edition reflects the continuing fluid relationship between texts and tunes in the Scottish psalters around the turn of the century.

Table 5.2: Differences between Abraham Canin's 16^o edition and Hart's 1607 edition

Psalm text	Pairing Source	Psalm Tune (<i>HTI</i> designation)*
58	Charteris, <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596) [STC 16585]; I. Canin <i>Psalmes of David</i> (1601) [STC 2702]	138a
68	<i>None</i>	[62a]
76	Charteris <i>CL Psalmes</i> (1596); I. Canin <i>Psalmes of David</i> (1601)	277a
77	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>

* Tune numbers in brackets designate a tune suggestion

The volatility of text-tune pairings continued into Hart's next psalter, which he printed in 1610. By this time, he had become the unofficial printer for the Kirk and had completed his masterful edition of the Geneva Bible.⁵⁰ As Hart's printing and bookselling businesses flourished, he also relied less on his colleagues. Since he did not list Lawson and Caithkin on the title page of his 1610 psalter, it is probable that this was the first psalter he printed without their help. Interestingly, Hart did not use his previous psalter from 1607 as a template for this 1610 psalter edition [STC 2704], but it is hard to argue that *any* particular psalter served as a template for Hart. Compared to his 1607 edition, there are nine differences in tunes or tune suggestions, and there are six psalms that did not have tunes or tune suggestions in 1607 to which Hart

⁵⁰ Ibid., 38.

provides tunes or suggestions in 1610. In addition, Hart did not print a tune or suggestion for Psalm 76 in the 1610 edition. There are altogether 16 differences between his 1610 edition and what remains of his 1607 edition, which aligned the 1610 edition with the Scottish psalters printed around the turn of the century rather than those printed before 1596.⁵¹

Hart printed two psalters in 1611 that were different from each other. One was a new edition of Schilders' 1602 Scottish psalter [*STC* 16591]. With the metrical psalter patent, the psalm importation patent had passed to Finlason in 1606. However, this patent was useless to Finlason now that Schilders had fallen out of favour with the King.⁵² Though not a replica of Schilders' originals, perhaps Hart's 1611 edition was an attempt to resurrect the Middelburg psalters in Scotland. Hart's version printed different tunes or tune suggestions for nine psalm texts, and four texts appeared with proper tunes or tune suggestions that did not appear in Schilders' 1602 Scottish edition. However, this particular set of text-tune pairings did not reappear in any Scottish psalters after the 1611 edition, suggesting that Hart may have overestimated the continuing public demand for the Middelburg-style psalters in Scotland.

Hart's press issued another psalter [*STC* 16590] in 1611, and this time he used his 1607 edition as a model. In fact, there are only five differences in tunes and tune suggestions between these two psalters. Three of those differences were tunes and tune suggestions Hart re-joined with texts that did not have either tunes or tune suggestions in 1607. Though this psalter does not provide tunes or tune suggestions for 35 psalm texts, Hart nonetheless began to return to traditional Scottish printing practice. That is, Hart began to bring a sense of stability back to text-tune pairings.

⁵¹ As discussed in Chapter 4, the Scottish psalters printed between 1564 and 1594 varied little. See pp. 189-194.

⁵² Mann, *Book Trade*, 79.

This stability was interrupted just three years later, when Hart printed what would become one of his most influential Scottish psalters. That edition, printed in 1614 [*STC* 2705], provided 115 proper tunes and only Psalm 12 appeared without a tune or tune suggestion. Therefore, it was the most musically complete metrical psalter printed for Scottish use since Isaac Canin's 1601 octavo edition.⁵³ Excluding the 35 texts from Hart's 1611 edition that were re-joined with tunes or tune suggestions, the 1614 edition changed the proper tunes and tune suggestions for 20 texts. In fact, Hart's 1614 edition more closely followed Charteris' 1596 edition, having only 14 differences in tunes and tune suggestions. This suggests Hart made a conscious effort to discard many of the innovations in Scottish psalters printed by both him and others over the previous 18 years.

Three psalters are extant from Hart's press in 1615, and each of them used the 1614 psalter as a template.⁵⁴ There are only four differences between the tunes and tune suggestions in these three editions and those of the 1614 psalter, suggesting that Hart's philosophy towards psalter printing had changed after 1614. This return to a more stable set of psalter editions suggests that Scots preferred stability in musical content as opposed to the more volatile English psalters' musical content. This is important for discussions of performance practice in the following chapter, but for the current discussion, it marks a return to stability and tradition after the more experimental period around the turn of the century.

Though these three psalters used the 1614 psalter as a template, they were not identical. First, each was a different size, confirming that each was part of a separate printing run.⁵⁵ While two of these psalters [*STCs* 2706 and 2708] use the same tunes and tune suggestions for their psalm texts, the third [*STC* 16592] differs from these in

⁵³ See Appendix B.

⁵⁴ The three are *STCs* 2706, 2708, and 16592.

⁵⁵ *STC* 16592 is 8°, *STC* 2706 is 4°, and *STC* 2708 is 12°.

the tune suggestion for Psalm 17. This version suggests the tune from Psalm 3 rather than the tune from Psalm 16, but both pairings are suitable for the text of Psalm 17. Both Psalms 3 and 16 are pleas to God for deliverance, and express faith that God will resolve the psalmist's situation.⁵⁶ Just as in Psalm 17, they end with an expression of faith that the Lord will deliver.⁵⁷ While tune suggestions varied wildly in the Day and Stationers' psalter editions, they were more fixed in Scottish editions. As such, the tune suggestions in the Scottish psalters continued to supply meaningful textual juxtapositions.

The most notable difference between Hart's three 1615 editions is in their added content. One psalter, *STC* 16592, included seven of the ten sacred canticles that increasingly had become a regular part of the Scottish psalter since Ros' 1575 edition [*STC* 16579.5]. The other two psalters did not include any canticles, and this highlights the most significant difference between later editions of the Scottish metrical psalters. These later editions could include any number of canticles, from zero to eight.⁵⁸

This same psalter from 1615, *STC* 16592, also printed 12 Common Tunes, "to the which all Psalmes of eight syllables in the first line, and sixe in the next may bee sung."⁵⁹ This was the first edition in either England or Scotland to print the common tunes in their entirety. In England, the Daman and East psalters had started naming their tunes in the sixteenth century, and East began to print a table of tunes and their matching texts. However, East's tables did not name these tunes and provided only incipits of the tunes. The lasting effect of this innovation by Hart was twofold. First, it became more commonplace to print these Common Tunes apart from the rest of the

⁵⁶ See arguments, *STC* 16592, fols. A4^r, C1^v.

⁵⁷ Noting that God will avenge the just, the argument for Psalm 17 says, "This Psalme ought diligently to bee noted, of such as receiue euill for well-doing." *Ibid.*, C2^v.

⁵⁸ See Appendix B.

⁵⁹ *STC* 16592, fol. Q1^r.

psalter in Scotland. Second, ten of the 12 tunes printed in this edition became part of the 12 tunes used by the Kirk for all its psalms by the end of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰

Beginning in 1620, Hart's business gained a competitor, as the printer Edward Raban arrived in Scotland. Having learned the printing trade in Leiden, Raban initially set up a press at the Cowgate Port in Edinburgh.⁶¹ Raban's stay in Edinburgh lasted just one year, however, as he probably found it difficult to get a foothold in the printing market. Finlason owned most of the profitable patents, and Hart had become the printer for both the Kirk and University.⁶² With few prospects in Edinburgh, Raban probably welcomed the opportunities offered in Aberdeen. It did not have a printer to serve its two colleges and town council. Thus, Raban probably needed little encouragement when several influential Aberdonians approached him about these vacancies.⁶³

Once settled in Aberdeen, Raban became successful, printing all sorts of books. Of particular interest were his editions of the metrical psalms. The first of these appeared in 1625 [*STC* 16594.5] and used Hart's post-1614 editions as a template without deviating in tunes or tune suggestions. Mimicking the model of the Anglo-Genevan psalters, Raban chose to print only the most fundamental canticles, "The Lord's Prayer" and "The Ten Commandments."⁶⁴ In comparison, Hart's psalters often included seven canticles. Such an approach by Raban probably stemmed from his wish to be a religiously and politically neutral printer.⁶⁵ Thus, his choice of the established

⁶⁰ The tunes which were later canonised from this 1615 edition were "Olde Common," "Kinges," "Dvkes," "English," "French," "Dvmfermeling," "Dvndie," "Abbay," and "Martyrs" in addition to "The Stilt."

⁶¹ Ian Beavan, "Raban, Edward (d. 1658)," *ODNB*, 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22970.

⁶² After 1622, the printing duties for the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews were split between the Hart heirs and the printer John Wriettoun. Mann, *Book Trade*, 8.

⁶³ Robert Baron, professor of divinity at Marischal College; Bishop Patrick Forbes; Sir Paul Menzies, provost; and David Melvill, bookseller, began to court Raban. *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁶⁴ The 1556 *Forme of prayers* printed "The Ten Commandments," the 1558 version added the "Nunc dimittis," and the 1561 edition added several versions of the "Lord's Prayer."

⁶⁵ Mann, *Book Trade*, 151.

Scottish version as a template for his metrical psalters was a safe one, especially for a printer who was trying to prove himself in the community.

Raban did make one important departure in his 1625 psalter, however. While one of Hart's 1615 psalters was the first to print the Common Tunes separately, Raban's 1625 version was the first to print harmonisations for those Common Tunes. He claimed these were "in more perfect forme than ever heere-to-fore," and were "diligently revised and amended, By the most expert Musicians in Aberdene."⁶⁶ While printers sometimes falsely boasted about their newly revised editions in order to boost sales, Raban's comments were not such an instance.⁶⁷ Considering Raban had close connections with Aberdonian musicians through his work for the colleges and community, he probably did receive some help from the local musicians in harmonizing and printing these psalm tunes.⁶⁸ The harmonisations are not known to exist in printed form before 1625 in Scotland, suggesting they were composed especially for Raban's edition.⁶⁹ Printing two more editions before 1640, Raban remained close to the traditional tune and text pairings found in the Hart psalters. While the proper tunes printed in his 1630 edition [*STC* 16596] do not depart from the Hart psalters, only two proper tunes differ in his 1633 edition, those for Psalms 2 and 57. In both cases, Raban replaced the proper tune with a tune suggestion. There were also nine differences in tune suggestions, but none of these appeared in later psalters.⁷⁰ Therefore, the overall

⁶⁶ *STC* 16594.5

⁶⁷ For an example, the 1556 *Forme of prayers* claimed its versifications were newly conferred with the Hebrew, but this did not mean they were translated from the Hebrew. *RR*, 158-9.

⁶⁸ Munro details Raban's connections with the composer Patrick Davidson and his successor at the music school in Aberdeen, Andro Melvill. Gordon Munro, "Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700," (PhD. diss., University of Glasgow, 1999), 99-100.

⁶⁹ While these are the first instances of harmonisations for these tunes in Scotland, some of the tunes appeared with harmonisations in England before 1625. For instance, consider the tune from Psalm 10 in *STCs* 2482, 2488, and 2575.

⁷⁰ There were different tune suggestions for Psalms 22, 38, 54, 56, 60, 90, 93, 131, and 144. See Appendix B.

trend of Scottish psalters after 1615 as shown by text-tune pairings in editions by both Hart and Raban was fairly static, like those printed before 1590.

While the diversity of text-tune pairings of the Scottish psalters at the beginning of the seventeenth century did not remain after 1615, the dissemination of the proper tunes in later editions deserves consideration. To do this, discussion will again consider the printed progression of three of the more popular tunes. As with the discussion on tune progression in the English psalters, the priority is to set a standard with which the seventeenth-century versions of each tune can be compared. Since Scottish metrical psalters had begun destabilising text-tune relationships before 1601, the example must come from one of the sixteenth century editions. Perhaps the best edition for such comparisons remains Lekpreuik's 1564-5 edition, as it was the edition used as the template for all later Scottish Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalters.

Comparing the proper tune from Psalm 103 in Lekpreuik's 1564-5 edition (Figure 5.14) with Hart's 1614 version of the same tune (Figure 5.15) reveals how closely Hart's 1614 edition followed the psalters from the sixteenth century. Some varied rhythms in the first and third lines comprise the only differences between the two versions. The second phrase of the first line switches the minim-semibreve progression, and the middle of the third line adds some semibreves to demark its two constituent phrases. These variations are minor, and probably stemmed from a desire to create a more regular rhythmic flow. Despite the small impact they had on the flow of the melody, they had a sustained impact on the Scottish metrical psalters. As discussed earlier, Hart's 1614 psalter became the template for most of the metrical psalters printed through 1640, and the tune from Psalm 103 provides a good example

of the 1614 edition's influence. Few of the editions printed from 1614 to 1640 deviated from Hart's 1614 version.⁷¹

Figure 5.14: Tune from Psalm 103 in the 1564-5 *Forme of prayers* [STC 15677a]



Figure 5.15: Tune from Psalm 103 in the 1614 *Psalmes of David* [STC 2705]



The 1629 *CL Psalmes of David* [STC 16595.5] printed by the heirs of Hart (Figure 5.16), however, provides a more substantial set of differences from Vautrollier's 1587 and Hart's 1614 editions. While the 1614 version of the tune from Psalm 103 differs from the 1564-5 version rhythmically, the 1629 version changes the pitches of the 1587 version. Beginning and ending on different pitches, the first phrase of each line in

⁷¹ Only Raban's 1625 *Psalmes of David* [STC 16594.5] returns to the original rhythm.

the 1587 version provides most of the melodic motion in the tune. The 1629 psalter reduces the motion in these phrases, creating a more static version of the tune. The first change occurs in the first line, which adds repetition in the first phrase due to the f-g-f-g progression—a repetition that is avoided in the third line. By changing the first note of the second line, the 1629 version creates a more static initial phrase. Within the context of English metrical psalm tunes, these are admittedly minor changes, but they are more substantial within the context of the Scottish metrical psalm tunes printed after 1615.

Figure 5.16: Tune from Psalm 103 in the 1629 *CL Psalmes* [STC 16595.5]



Figure 5.17: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1564-5 *Forme of Prayers* [STC 16577a]



Figure 5.18: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1610 *Psalmes of David in Meeter* [STC 2704]



As discussed earlier, the tune from Psalm 30 could vary in the editions printed by the Stationers, and a direct comparison between the two printing traditions warrants discussion of this psalm tune as well, since it is symptomatic of the general trends within the Scottish psalters. Hart's 1610 edition of the tune (Figure 5.18) is an example of the more extreme departures from Lekpreuik's 1564-5 version (Figure 5.17) found in the psalters printed after 1600. The changed cadence in the first phrase is the most significant difference of the first line. Rather than using stepwise downward motion from *f* to the cadence on *d*, the 1610 version skips down from *f* to *d* and returns to *f* for its cadence. The next major deviation does not appear until the third line, in which a modified cadence substitutes an upward leap of a major sixth for the stepwise motion of the original. Finally, the fourth line contains an extra note. Considering this last change, which was an obvious error, the other significant changes were probably mistakes as well. As noted in Chapter 2, melodic intervals of a sixth were rare, especially upward intervals of a major sixth.⁷² Especially within the context of *d* mode (mode 1), the modified cadence on *b*¹ at the end of the third line in the 1610

⁷² See pp. 100, 102.

edition was an error. Finally, there was no reason to change the first line, as the modification made the line more repetitive than the original.

In the period between 1590 and 1614, the printed Scottish psalters underwent a period of experimentation. As displayed in the tune suggestions discussed earlier and the tune examples from Psalm 30, printers tested the traditional text-tune relationships and varied the proper tunes they provided with their texts. Accuracy was a low priority for printers of the Scottish psalters during this time. After 1614, however, Scottish printers took great care to ensure their psalters were as accurate as possible (as shown in the example from Psalm 103), with the exception of one edition.⁷³ Hart admits to returning to the patterns of the traditional psalters on the 1615 edition's title page. Rather than using the usual title, "The CL Psalmes of David in Meeter, with diuers Notes and Tunes augmented to them," he titles his new psalter, "The CL Psalmes of David, in Prose and Meeter: With their whole usuall notes and tunes, *Newly corrected, and amended*" (emphasis added). Since this variation stating that the psalms were "Newly corrected and amended" deviated from the titles of previous editions printed by Hart and others, he probably intentionally reverted to the "usual" form of the psalm tunes and tune suggestions. This begs the question of why Scottish printers, and Andro Hart in particular, reverted to the static printing style of the Scottish psalters from 1564-87. A Presbyterian supporter, Hart could have been reacting to the growing tensions between the King and supporters of a Presbyterian ecclesiastical polity by returning to the roots of the Reformation in Scotland. However, this theory ignores the innovations printed in Hart's psalters, as suggested by the Common Tunes printed in his 1615 edition.

⁷³ This one psalter printed in 1622 [STC 16595.5] contained several inaccuracies. However, it is possible that was the first edition printed by the heirs of Andro Hart after his death, so it is understandable that it would contain some variations. Hart wrote his final will and testament on 12 December 1621, but it does not provide the exact date of his death. While this psalter lists 1622 as the date it was printed, it is possible that it was in press while Hart was still alive. *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1836), 2:241-9.

Hart may have learned to print the psalter by examining the varied psalters of his predecessors: Canin, Charteris, and Schilders. Once he became comfortable with the psalter and its tunes, he also settled into a singular format for his psalter, keeping the tunes and their textual pairings. Since these psalters were a normal part of the curriculum at Edinburgh University, Hart's appointment as its official printer in 1615 probably cemented his most recent edition—the 1614 edition—as his psalter template after that.⁷⁴ Also acting as an official press of academic institutions, Raban probably kept Hart's 1614 psalter as his template to remain consistent with other Scottish psalters.

5.4 The 1635 Scottish Psalter

Arguably, the height of the Sternhold and Hopkins line of psalters on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border was the 1635 *Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* [STC 16599]. This psalter is different from the others examined to this point because of the breadth of musical content it contained. Edward Millar, the head of music at the Chapel Royal and a graduate of Edinburgh University, edited and compiled the psalter.⁷⁵ The evidence suggests he began work on the volume before 1626, as one of the extant editions of Hart's 1615 edition [STC 2708] in the National Library of Scotland has been re-bound, incorporating a set of manuscript psalm harmonisations by Millar dated 1626.⁷⁶ This is presumably the manuscript described by Cowan and supposed lost by Gordon Munro and Kenneth Elliott.⁷⁷ In addition to the Common Tunes that he began to collect before 1626, Millar's 1635 included the works of other composers, including John Angus, Andrew Blackhall, David Peebles, Alexander Smith, John Black, John

⁷⁴ For discussion on Hart's appointment to the University, see Mann, *Book Trade*, 8.

⁷⁵ Neil Livingston, ed. *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635* (Glasgow: Maclure and MacDonald, 1864), 48; Munro, "Church Music," 67-8.

⁷⁶ GB-En Acc. 12805.

⁷⁷ Munro, "Church Musc," 316; Kenneth Elliott, "Millar, Edward," *Grove Music Online*, OMO, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18686>.

Buchan, and a man named Sharp.⁷⁸ While modern scholars are unsure about the identity of Sharp, the rest were active in the Kirk just after the Reformation. With source manuscripts of psalm settings spread throughout the country, Millar's project probably consumed significant time and resources. He argued:

If you bee curious to know who hath undergone these paines for your benefite, I professe my self a Welwiller to Musick, who in love and paines for advancement thereof will yeeld to sow, though in qualification to many: I have spent too much tyme, travell and expenses on that facultie...⁷⁹

The result of his efforts was the most varied psalter printed in England or Scotland up to 1635. It contained three types of psalm settings, the first of which was a collection of "Common Tunes," in four-part harmonies. As noted previously, Common Tunes first appeared in one of Hart's 1615 psalters, and Raban was the first to print harmonisations of these tunes in Scotland. Millar expanded the number of Common Tunes printed in Scottish psalters to 31, and his harmonisations came from various sources.⁸⁰ The second group of settings was a collection of "Tunes in Reports," which were polyphonic settings of psalm tunes that largely came from Scottish sources.⁸¹ The final group was the "Proper psalm tunes." Though most of these tunes had appeared in every Scottish psalter since 1564, Millar's volume distinguished itself from previous Scottish editions by providing four-part harmonisations for each of these tunes. While Millar used whole tune harmonisations from previously printed psalters to compile his Common Tunes, he probably pieced together his proper psalm tune harmonisations from various sources. In fact, their variety can make tracing their sources an impossible task.⁸²

⁷⁸ *STC* 16599. As Munro notes, the identity of Sharp has yet to be determined. Munro, "Church Music," 289n.

⁷⁹ "To the gentle reader," in *STC* 16599.

⁸⁰ Munro, "Church Music," 309, 311-13.

⁸¹ Psalm 113 in Reports was an exception, as Munro notes it was composed by Claude Goudimel. *Ibid.*, 314.

⁸² Kenneth Elliott, "Scottish Music of the Early Reformed Church," *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 15 (1961):28f.

Figure 5.19: Tune from Psalm 30 in the 1635 *Psalmes of David* [STC 16599]



Figure 5.20: Tune from Psalm 119 in the 1635 *Psalmes of David* [STC 16599]



The current discussion is most interested in the transmission of tunes both leading up to this edition and afterwards. Despite the changes to the harmonisations surrounding the tunes, many remained unchanged, as was the case in the Scottish Psalters after 1615. For example, Millar did not change the tune from Psalm 30 (Figure 5.19), unlike the parallel tune in Ravenscroft's 1621 Psalter. The first phrase of the second line in Millar's edition keeps the C[♮] from the original, creating an F-major chord rather than an A-major chord as in Ravenscroft's version. While the tune from Psalm 30 did not change in Millar's version, other psalms displayed minor changes due to

their harmonisations. Some examples include the tunes for Psalms 6, 14, 83, 102, and 119. Millar's version of the tune from Psalm 119 (Figure 5.20) uses the same accidentals as Ravenscroft's 1621 version, and each case can be attributed to the rules of *musica ficta*. That is, each accidental creates a leading tone to a cadence (C# to D, or G# to A), but Millar's changes did not affect later editions of the Scottish metrical psalters.⁸³

There has been disagreement concerning the popularity of Millar's edition. Rev. Neil Livingston argued that it included psalm settings that were commonly used in Edinburgh, so few in the city would have taken issue with the inclusion of any particular psalm versions.⁸⁴ Because it was the only one of its kind, however, perhaps it was not particularly popular. Millar Patrick suggested that the more complicated settings such as those in "Reports" indicate that Edward Millar intended his edition for the Royal Chapel only.⁸⁵ Since the General Assembly never approved its use in worship services, it may have enjoyed limited popularity.⁸⁶ However, Gordon Munro's research on Scottish song schools suggests that these schools may have been another possible outlet for performance of the more complex musical settings in the 1635 Scottish Psalter.⁸⁷

Despite some likenesses between Ravenscroft and Millar's psalters, they ultimately had different effects on later editions. While Ravenscroft's psalter popularised several new and rarely used tune variations, Millar's psalter did not have any notable impact on the tunes printed in later Scottish psalters. One reason for this may be that some Scots opposed his 1635 Psalter. Millar argues:

⁸³ Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 72.

⁸⁴ Livingston, *Scottish Metrical Psalter*, 48.

⁸⁵ Patrick, *Scottish Psalmody*, 70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸⁷ Munro, "Church Music," *passim*.

Had I ever thought that this matter [of errors in the printed psalter] would have cost mee half the paines I have bestowed thereon, I should never by attempting the same have ministred such occasion to thee for to spew fourth thy spightful sclanders against mee.⁸⁸

This extremely defensive posture is uncharacteristic of the time, and it suggests that Millar's project had been the target for much scorn. No dispute or dialogue remains, so Millar's words are the only source with which the argument can be reconstructed. The result is a one-sided and tangled idea of the conversations occurring in some Scottish circles at the time.

Perhaps the largest reason his psalter did not change Scottish psalmody was its static nature even after 1635. As he notes:

The motives moving mee hereunto, are chiefly God's glorie... together with an abuse observed in all Churches, where sundrie Tribles, Basses and Counters set by diverse Authors, being sung upon one, and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub each upon another, offending both Musically, and rude ears, which never tasted of this art: which unhappie fault I thought might happily bee helped, and the Church Musick made more plausible by publishing this Booke.⁸⁹

It is clear from this statement that the tunes varied little within the church and between churches. Rather, the problem Millar tried to correct was the cacophony of voices caused by people singing various harmonisations of the same tune. Thus, the issue was not which tunes people sang or whether they sang harmonisations, but *which harmonisations* people sang.⁹⁰ Whatever its popularity, the 1635 Scottish Psalter stands at the height of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters as an anthology of metrical psalmody by including the three most common types of psalm singing practice in both England and Scotland.⁹¹ Trained choirs in England and Scotland would have been able to sing the psalms in Reports, the Common Tunes would have been appropriate for

⁸⁸ Millar apparently had his detractors, and his introduction to the psalter acts as a defence against people who will criticise the errors in the book. "To the Gentle Reader," in *STC* 16599.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ This is important for discussion of performance practice. See Chapter 6.

⁹¹ The circumstances surrounding the creation of Millar's psalter are an area deserving further investigation, as Millar's reasoning behind compiling the volume and its relation to the Anglo-Scottish liturgical discussions of the 1630s remain largely unconsidered.

small parish churches and for domestic psalm singing, and the proper tunes would have suited any occasion or setting.

Despite being united under the same crown after 1603, England and Scotland retained their separate printed psalter traditions. Continuing in the Day tradition, the Stationers printed psalter editions that fluctuated widely. While the 1621 Ravenscroft Psalter did have a stabilising effect, the Scottish psalters still surpassed their southern counterparts in consistency. Though Scottish psalters underwent a period of variability for the first decade of the seventeenth century, Andro Hart provided stability once again by establishing his Edinburgh printing business. At the same time, Edward Millar began collecting the best settings of the psalms for his monumental 1635 Scottish Psalter. Instead of affecting the future of Scottish psalmody as Millar had hoped, the 1650 Scottish Metrical Version and the 12 tunes that congregations used for its texts quickly replaced Millar's edition.⁹²

The preceding discussions of the printed metrical psalms are important because of the people who used these texts. In England, churches, Cathedrals and clergymen purchased metrical psalters for use in worship, and schoolmasters and students purchased them for general educational purposes.⁹³ This suggests a growing number of people who used the printed psalters, which probably had a significant influence on how non-literate people sang metrical psalms. Scotland was similar, as ministers, readers, and song school students used the printed metrical psalters in leading the psalm singing in worship.⁹⁴ With an increasing number in both countries who could use the printed psalters, what remains is how people used them and whether psalter editions reflected or effected developments and differences in performance practice in England and Scotland.

⁹² Livingston, *Scottish Metrical Psalter*, 21.

⁹³ See Chapter 6, p. 255.

⁹⁴ See pp. 126, 291.

CHAPTER 6: PSALM SINGING IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FROM 1560-1640

Detailed investigations of performance practice for metrical psalms are a fairly recent development in English and Scottish metrical psalmody studies. Historians of England and Scotland agree that metrical psalms were a central part of everyday life in both countries from 1560-1640.¹ When the two nations were bitter rivals at the beginning of the sixteenth century, their music traditions were similar. The vibrant Tudor and Stuart courts brought much of the best music from the Continent and from across Britain, allowing music to cross the border between England and Scotland.² It is no surprise, therefore, that the two musical traditions retained these connections after the ecclesiastical reformations in each country and after the political alignments of the two. In particular, John Calvin's brand of Genevan psalmody brought the musical traditions of the two even closer together.

Grouping English and Scottish metrical psalm practice into one category, however, ignores the nuances of print and practice found in each nation. As discussed in the previous chapters, there were clear differences between the psalters printed in England and Scotland. Building on this foundation, it is important to consider how the metrical psalters of the two countries influenced their populace. If sixteenth and seventeenth century Britons did not use or follow the printed metrical psalters, the discussions of the previous few chapters would have little import. However, the evidence suggests a significant connection between the printed psalters and

¹ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 391-2, 435-7; Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); *MEPC*, 1:38-76.

² Isobel Woods Preece, *Our awin Scottis use: Music in the Scottish church up to 1603* (Glasgow and Aberdeen: University of Glasgow and University of Aberdeen, 2000), 55-70; D. James Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the art of music in sixteenth century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993), 65-88.

performance practice. This chapter considers this relationship based on accounts of psalm singing in both countries and the progression of printed psalters discussed in the earlier chapters. In particular, this chapter will focus on three areas of performance: the tunes and texts, the performers, and the methods of performance.

The first area, the texts and tunes, focuses on the tunes and psalm texts most often used by psalm singers, and literacy rates factor heavily into this discussion. Often musicians and historians have wondered how non-literate people could memorise the many texts and tunes printed in metrical psalters. They argue that most in England and Scotland learned only a handful of CM tunes that they paired with the CM psalm texts, and all but the most devout Protestants ignored the texts that used other metres.³ However, this is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of sixteenth-century culture and an underestimation of the ability of non-literate people to memorise texts and tunes. The printed psalters and accounts of metrical psalm singing suggest that both the literate and non-literate sang most of the metrical psalm tunes printed in their national psalters.

The second area, performers, relates to the first because it establishes which people sang the metrical psalms. Not only does this area briefly consider the role of sung metrical psalms in everyday life, it focuses on the use of choirs and trained musicians in worship practice. Beyond considering which churches used choirs, it is important to consider the roles of these groups. The choir acted as the centrepiece in worship music in some areas, but in others it acted as a supplemental musical force that supported the congregation.

Finally, this chapter considers many of the methods used to perform the metrical psalms in both England and Scotland. Both countries produced harmonised

³ Temperley argues for gradual simplification and minimisation of the tune repertory. *MEPC*, 1: 63-4, 68. Green promotes the view that only a few—three to six—tunes were used in common practice, Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 518.

psalm settings, and employed musical instruments to varying degrees in performing these settings. Despite this similarity, people in the two countries had differing views on the proper uses and contexts for musical instruments and harmonisations, and this section considers these distinctions. In addition, the practices of *musica ficta* and lining-out will be examined. *Musica ficta*, or "false music" describes the practice of changing a note by a half step to preserve perfect consonances and to approach cadences correctly. This practice became less common later in the sixteenth century as music moved from a hexachordal foundation to an octatonic foundation, and as printers began providing the correct accidentals. While scholars often disagree about *ficta*'s application in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are some relevant considerations for psalm tunes. It is also important to consider the introduction of lining-out in popular psalm singing in the seventeenth century. Lining-out was a call-and-response method of singing through the psalm that proceeded one line at a time; the precentor would sing the line and the congregation would repeat it after him. This slowed down psalm singing in many areas, and discussion concludes by evaluating the use of varying dynamics and tempi.

6.1 English Practice: Texts and Tunes

The importance of the metrical psalms to English society after Elizabeth became Queen of England is undeniable. Just as during the reign of Edward VI, the metrical psalms permeated English culture and society after 1559.⁴ These texts and their accompanying tunes were on the lips, pens, and memories of people from all classes of the early-modern English populace. John Day and the Stationers Company printed over 450 editions and approximately a million volumes of the metrical psalter between 1560 and 1640, suggesting they were more than simply coffee-table

⁴ For a discussion of some of the ways in which this was evident, see Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*.

showpieces.⁵ Since only several hundred of these million copies are extant, undoubtedly people wore out their copies.

Despite the resurgence of metrical psalm singing, the church never officially sanctioned them as part of the liturgy. Instead, the Book of Common Prayer instituted the reading and recitation of the Psalms. Most churches instead began to sing their psalms as part of the liturgy, both before and after the sermon.⁶ However, some other musical texts persisted in worship services, as records from Merton College, Oxford, show, "superstitious hymns" persisted during feasts in the hall. Thus, Archbishop Matthew Parker insisted that instead "...English psalms in metre should be sung."⁷ Similarly, Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, ordered that his churches, "...have in readiness books of psalms set forth in English metre to be provided at the costs of the church..."⁸ Rather than ordering his parishioners to follow the Book of Common Prayer, Horne's injunction tells them to: "...sing in the body of the church both afore the sermon and after the sermon one of the said psalms to be appointed at the discretion of the said Chanter."⁹ Considering Horne was one of the supporters of the unaltered Prayer Book in Frankfurt, his choice to follow the Anglo-Genevan form of worship and not the Prayer Book is surprising. He was one of the members of the Zürich exile community who rejected an invitation to join the Frankfurt community because they had made changes to the English liturgy.¹⁰ Once Richard Cox assured the preservation and continued use of the Prayer Book in Frankfurt, Horne moved to Frankfurt and eventually became the minister there. Horne's decision to make these changes just days before Archbishop Parker's visit could have been an acknowledgement of Parker's

⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 509.

⁶ *MEPC*, 1:47-8.

⁷ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, ed. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy (London: Alcuin Club Collections, 1910), 3:121. Also quoted in *GPSS*, 249-50.

⁸ *Visitation Articles*, 3:138; Leaver *GPSS*, 250.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ralph Houlbrooke, "Horne, Robert (1513x15-1579)," *ODNB* (2004), 10.1093/ref:odnb/13792.

preferences, as the Archbishop enjoyed metrical psalm singing.¹¹ All personal politics and preferences aside, however, this illustration shows the fluid and unsettled state of English liturgical practice in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

Besides the efforts to "legislate" metrical psalmody, there was a general zeal for the metrical psalms in London, as described in an often-quoted letter from John Jewel to Peter Martyr on 5 March 1560:

Religion is somewhat more established now than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. Church music for the people has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing publicly in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even in distant towns, began to vie with one another in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God.¹²

Jewel's enthusiasm for the Reformation occasionally caused him to exaggerate his descriptions of events, but his account shows that metrical psalm singing rapidly spread from London to the surrounding areas.¹³

As shown in earlier chapters, the Sternhold and Hopkins texts were the most popular at the time, so these accounts probably refer to instances of selections from these popular editions. There is little indication from these and similar accounts of which tunes people commonly used, but the survey of printed psalters discussed in the previous chapters may prove helpful. According to the printed psalters from the 1560s, the tunes for Psalms 3, 81, 119, and 137 were the most commonly sung psalm tunes throughout the period since tune suggestions most commonly referred people to them.¹⁴ Besides these, East printed a set of four different tunes about which he claimed,

¹¹ Parker's inclination towards metrical psalm singing is most clearly evident in his *Whole Psalter translated into English Metre* [STC 2729].

¹² *Zürich Letters Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetican Reformers, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. H. Robinson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1848), 1:71.

¹³ *MEPC*, 1:46.

¹⁴ See Appendix C. The tune from Psalm 77 was also very common, but it and Psalm 81 used the same pitches, just different rhythms. Despite Temperley's insistence that the two had

"The Psalmes are song to these 4 tunes in most churches of this Realme."¹⁵ To be fair to East, historians have often overemphasised the importance of this statement.¹⁶ East's psalters printed over 70 tunes for the psalms, hymns, and canticles; and his tune selections closely follow the tunes printed in John Cosyn's *Musike of Six, and Fiue partes. Made vpon the common tunes vsed in singing of the Psalmes* [STC 5828].¹⁷ This is an important correlation when considering which tunes were most commonly used with the metrical psalm texts in England, because Cosyn made a similar claim to East. In his dedicatory note to Sir Francis Walsingham, Cosyn wrote, "And hauing in this care set Six & Fiue parts vpon the tunes ordinarily sung to the Psalmes of Dauid, I was encouraged by some to publish them for the priuate vse and comfort of the godlie..."¹⁸ Cosyn's edition printed 41 different psalm tunes that he claimed followed popular psalm singing practice in England at the time. It is difficult to believe that English psalm singers drastically reduced their tune repertory from 41 tunes in 1585, when Cosyn printed his edition, to just four in 1592, when East printed his. As discussed in Chapter 4, East had a vested interest in creating a new psalter that would not cause problems with the psalm patent holders while stimulating public demand for future editions. This does not mean East's comment did not contain at least some truth. Later psalters included his tunes, suggesting that his four tunes *were* popular. However, many of the original tunes and tune suggestions from the John Day psalters also persisted in these later psalters, suggesting East's comment may have been an

contrasting characters resulting from these rhythmic differences, they were often used interchangeably in tune suggestions throughout John Day's metrical psalters. This indicates that sixteenth-century musicians did not perceive the differences in the same way as modern musicians. However, Temperley correctly asserts that the tune version for Psalm 81 eventually replaced that of Psalm 77, which supports his theory that this shift was due to the more lively character of Psalm 81. *Ibid.*, 58-9.

¹⁵ East's comment refers to *HTI* tunes 201a, 249a, 250b, and 269c. *STC* 2488, p. 1.

¹⁶ While the number of tunes suggested by modern scholars varies, those who suggest a severely limited repertory of tunes include: Willis, *Church Music*, 196; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 518-19; and *MEPC*, 1:65-71

¹⁷ See Appendix B.

¹⁸ *STC* 5828, fol. A2r.

overstatement. Casting further doubt on East's comments, Allison wrote that his psalter included, "...tenne short Tunnes in the end, to which for the most part all the Psalmes may be vsually sung..."¹⁹ Since CM, LM, and SM versifications dominated the Sternhold and Hopkins psalters, Allison's ten tunes—using these three metres—could indeed be sung with most of the psalm texts. Considering all three editions claimed to print the tunes most commonly sung in England, their differing musical content casts doubt on the reliability of East's claim (and those who have relied solely on his comments). Christopher Marsh has convincingly argued that congregations must have used more than three or four tunes, based on an incident at Rotherham. Saddled with an organist who could play only three or four tunes, the congregation complained that he was hindrance to their worship services.²⁰ English practice probably paralleled Cosyn's, East's, and Allison's psalters in that all included tunes that were commonly used and others that were not so common.²¹

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English psalm singing employed a repertoire of more than four tunes but less than the repertoires of the Continental and Scottish psalm traditions. This difference from Scottish and Continental traditions is traceable to the return of the Marian exiles, as Day's metrical psalters used the temporary musical solution of a limited tune repertoire provided in the 1558 *Forme of prayers* as their basis. Thus, English performance of metrical psalms returned to its ballad-like roots by limiting its repertoire of tunes and encouraging singers to mix and match texts and tunes.²² This trend continued through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, as shown in the metrical psalters printed in England from 1560-1640. Variations between the hundreds of psalter editions printed within this

¹⁹ See the title page, *STC* 2497.

²⁰ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 423-4.

²¹ This was the composition of East's psalters. Thomas East, "The Preface," in *STC* 2482.

²² As Leaver and Temperley have shown, this does not mean that psalm tunes originated as ballad tunes. *GPSS*, 121-3; *MEPC*, 1: 33-4. Instead, this reference to balladry refers only to the practice of mixing and matching tunes and texts.

time-span suggest that a strict standardising authority overseeing psalter printing did not exist and that performance practice varied widely.

There was therefore a change in the purpose of the Day and Stationers' editions of the metrical psalters. Undoubtedly, the early editions were meant to prescribe psalm-singing practice, teaching the people how to sing the new texts and tunes. At some point in the sixteenth century, however, they became more descriptive of practice.²³ As discussed in earlier chapters, the Day editions began to move towards a consolidated musical repertory, not a minimal number of tunes. While some editions printed by Thomas East around the turn of the seventeenth century suggest that people commonly sang only four tunes, editions printed by Richard Schilders at the same time printed 80 tunes. With East and Schilders' editions forming the musical extremes of English metrical psalmody, the consolidated number of tunes printed in the Day line of psalters probably resembled common practice more closely than either of those two extremes. While there were variations across the country, most people and locations probably employed between 40 and 50 tunes in their normal psalm-tune repertory.

6.2 English Practice: Metrical Psalm Singers

Music permeated life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Andrew Pettegree argues that people sang "in their homes, at work, in the fields and workshops."²⁴ In addition, he notes that mothers, teachers, weavers, miners, shepherds, entertainers, sailors, soldiers, beggars, and journeymen all passed the time by singing.²⁵ Though Pettegree's comments describe German society, they are also applicable to English society. As Christopher Marsh has shown, metrical psalm singing

²³ One exception to this tendency would be Ravenscroft's 1621 edition, which remained more prescriptive, as indicated by its introduction of accidentals to a number of psalm tunes. See Chapter 5, pp. 219-224.

²⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 41-2.

was an important part of life in sixteenth-century England.²⁶ The reason that metrical psalmody became so popular, he argues, was that people loved to sing. However, John Craig recently added that people sang psalms together because they liked the sound that it produced.²⁷ Combined with emotionally charged Psalm texts, people—who normally sang on their own—understandably enjoyed singing with a group of several hundred others.

The many editions of the metrical psalms printed from 1560-1640 also fuelled metrical psalm singing. As Ian Green has shown, Day and his successors printed various editions of varying sizes, and thus marketable to a wide cross-section of English society, not just to puritans.²⁸ He suggests that Cathedrals and collegiate churches, and parish ministers and clerks formed a significant portion of the consumer pool for metrical psalters. In addition to other literate adults, schoolmasters and students were also a significant group of consumers for the metrical psalters.²⁹ Education theorists such as John Brinsley, Charles Hoole, and Edmund Coote argued that music, and the metrical psalms in particular, were an important part of general education.³⁰ Given its prominence in English schools, it is therefore likely that most people who knew how to read could also read music.³¹ It would be dangerous to limit the printed psalter market to these five groups, especially since they do not account for the non-literate people in

²⁶ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 435-53.

²⁷ John Craig, "Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642," in *Sacred Space in Early Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 108.

²⁸ Ian Green, "All People that on Earth do dwell. Sing to the Lord with Cheerful Voice: Protestantism and Music in Early Modern England," in *Christianity and Community in the West*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 154-5.

²⁹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 509-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 510.

³¹ Music education methodology in the sixteenth century remains a largely unexplored topic. However, some recent efforts have begun to correct this. For a general discussion, see Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Muscal Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). For evidence relating specifically to England, see Pamela E. Starr, "Music Education and the Conduct of Life in Early Modern England: A Review of the Sources," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 193-206; and Willis, *Church Music*, 164-80.

society who may have bought copies as well. The evidence suggests that non-literate people also wanted copies of the metrical psalms though they could not read them.³²

Despite a revitalised and popular metrical psalm singing practice in England, the psalms never did accomplish the admittedly unrealistic goal that Sternhold and others set for them: that they would displace "all vngodly Songes and Ballades..."³³ The persistence of the ballads has led some to suggest that the English did not sing metrical psalms in domestic settings.³⁴ Coupled with the frustrations of some English pastors, this conclusion seems reasonable. Nicholas Bownd, a commentator and clergyman at the rectory of Norton, near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk,³⁵ was one such pastor who wrote of his frustrations in 1595:

...yet men content themselues with that [singing psalms in church], and are not mindfull to sing at home by themselues alone, or with the rest of their houshoulde: but contenting themselues that this is receiued in the Church, haue no care to bring it into their houses; but as though to sing Psalmes were proper vnto the Church, doe neglecte this duetie euery where else.³⁶

Surprisingly the views of Jewel, who witnessed the popularity of the psalms spreading out from London, and those of Bownd do not contradict each other as suggested by their opposing comments. The key to understanding Jewel and Bownd's references to English metrical psalm singing is to place each in his respective time. Jewel wrote his letter when metrical psalmody was fresh and new to the English people. Excitement

³² Often the non-literate would ask a literate person to read their books for them.

³³ *STC* 2430, p. 1. As Willis recently noted, however, the metrical psalms were critical in the "Protestantisation" of England. Willis, *Church Music*, 188-201.

³⁴ Green notes that there are reports suggesting that some ministers had problems getting everyone to join in congregational singing (presumably of psalms). See Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 530; John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning and Education 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 154-5; and Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 213.

³⁵ Nicholas Bownd is best known for his views on the Sabbath, especially his 1606 edition of the *True Doctrine of the Sabbath* [*STC* 3436]. Kenneth L. Parker, Bownd, Nicholas (d. 1613)," *ODNB* (2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/3084.

³⁶ Nicholas Bownd, *True Doctrine of the Sabbath* [*STC* 3436] (London: Widdow Orwin, 1595), 235. Bownd's comments are not unique, as others shared similar concerns. For further discussion on these concerns and accounts of disdain for psalm singing, see Alec Ryrie, "The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (210): 119-21.

filled the air at these gatherings of men, women, and children who enjoyed singing God's Word together using simple texts and tunes. According to Bownd, this excitement had faded by the end of the sixteenth century, so his comments probably reflect some sort of nostalgia for the excitement Jewel experienced in the 1560s. Indeed, Bownd's comments on psalm singing were symptomatic of more widespread complaints that religious laziness had become more common in England in the 1590s. He wrote:

For besides that there bee too many which are of great yeares, that neuer sung Psalme in their liues, neither can do, nor haue any care to learne, though they can sing some other vain songs very perfectly; and though they cannot reade themselues, nor any of theirs, yet will haue many Ballades set vp in their houses, that so they might learne them, as they shal haue occasion: but as for the booke of Psalmes, it commeth not once into their thought to make prouision for it... And as for others, though they haue al varietie of Musick both vpon Instruments and with the voyce, and that euery day, yet many of them very seldome, or scarsely once a year doe heare a Psalme, sauing in the Church.³⁷

While Bownd may also be guilty of exaggeration, his comments point to a general decline in the prominence of metrical psalm singing in the lives of the unlearned.

Bownd also made an important point for those who question the ability of non-literate people to learn the varied metrical psalm tunes. Indeed, modern society is often so preoccupied with the printed word that it forgets the importance of aural transmission in non-literate societies. People sang to pass the hours at work, the marketplaces were teeming with performers and vendor calls, and people often passed their time at home with music and singing. Considering that most accommodations in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England did not include insulation or other soundproofing materials, people in towns and cities would have heard the goings-on in

³⁷ It should be noted that Bownd does not condemn secular music. He continues by admitting that it is "...the especiall gift of God..." Ibid., 241.

their neighbour's homes.³⁸ If one family decided to sing some psalms to pass the evening hours, the whole block would have heard it. Given these circumstances, many non-literate people probably became familiar with many of the psalm tunes—especially the ones paired with longer texts such as Psalms 78 and 119. Bownd's complaint that non-literate people learned ballad tunes rather than psalm tunes shows that the non-literate had the capacity to learn new tunes—including psalm tunes—just like the literate.

Bownd's comments also suggest that there were people in England who had never sung a psalm. While metrical psalms were important to English society in general, Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, and smaller religious sects remained in England who did not promote metrical psalmody like the majority.³⁹ For instance, the Barrowists and Brownists opposed metrical psalm singing because they believed that only closely translated prose versions of the Bible were suitable.⁴⁰ Whether or not Bownd's comments describe these groups, the decreasing effectiveness of psalmody on the lives of many English citizens concerned him. This does not mean that metrical psalmody had no influence on English domestic life towards the end of the sixteenth century. Devoted and even moderate Calvinists would have continued to sing the metrical psalms, and most of English society in the sixteenth century sang them as well. As the continued printing and sale of metrical psalters shows, the metrical psalms remained important regardless of Bownd's comments to the contrary.

³⁸ Adam Hansen, "The Sounds of the City: Everard Guilpin's London in *Skialetheia* (1598)," (paper presented at the Society for Renaissance Studies National Conference, York, United Kingdom, July 16-18, 2010).

³⁹ For Roman Catholic responses to metrical psalms, see Ryrie, "Psalms and Confrontation," 126-7.

⁴⁰ For discussion of the Barrowists, see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1:327f. Further information on the Brownists and their leader Robert Browne is available from Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1948), 168f.

Despite Bownd's probable exaggeration, psalm singing outside the church probably decreased towards the end of the sixteenth century. He described:

And indeed I know not how it commeth to passe, (but as you may obserue it) that the singing of ballades is very lately renewed, and commeth on a fresh againe, so that in euery Faire and Market almost you shall haue one or two singing and selling of ballades, & they are brought vp a pace, which though it may seeme to bee a small thing at the first, yet I am greatly afrayd of it. For as when the light of the Gospell came first in, the singing of ballades (that was rife in Poperie) began to cease, and in time was cleane banished away in many places: so now the sudden renewing of them, and hastie receiuing of them euery where, maketh me to suspect, least they should driue away the singing of Psalmes againe, seeing they can so hardly stand together... ⁴¹

The metrical psalms were so popular just after Elizabeth's accession that ballad performance became more uncommon. Though he may have exaggerated the extent to which ballad singing dwindled shortly after the Reformation, undoubtedly the metrical psalms did replace some of the ballads in people's domestic lives in the 1560s. As time passed, however, the novelty of the metrical psalms wore off and people began to return to singing ballads in their homes and workplaces. Perhaps his statement reveals a disappointment that metrical psalm singing had not replaced the ballads, as hoped by Sternhold, Hopkins, and many other psalm versifiers. Intriguingly the resurgence of ballad music described by Bownd in 1595 coincides with East's introduction of Common Tunes in his printed psalters.

Whether Bownd's comments resulted from a rebirth of balladry or a realisation that balladry would continue to dominate English culture, few have recognised the simultaneous introduction of Common Tunes to the English repertoire of metrical psalm tunes. Faced with the prospect of declining popularity in England, proponents of psalm singing may have begun to update their tunes, altering existing tunes and adding new ones to preserve interest in the metrical psalms and to keep the tunes musically

⁴¹ Ibid., 242.

relevant in a rapidly changing musical landscape.⁴² Printers eventually codified these "new" tunes as a group of Common Tunes, which became increasingly popular in England. While these tunes probably did not originate in the ballad tradition, they mimicked ballad tunes in many ways.⁴³ As Temperley has noted, they usually employed a regular rhythmic pattern and frequently used two types of cadence—the first was on the second or fifth scale degrees and second was on the first scale degree.⁴⁴ As CM tunes, they also were significantly shorter than the DCM proper psalm tunes and thus easier to memorise. With these characteristics, the Common Tunes were more immediately accessible to most in England, as they were familiar with the general musical style of traditional ballads. The simple rhythmic and melodic structures strengthened this familiarity and encouraged memorisation.⁴⁵ Written in CM, these tunes could be readily paired with most of the psalm texts within the metrical psalters printed in England. This flexibility and familiarity eventually led most English psalm singers to prefer the Common Tunes over the proper tunes in the seventeenth century.

6.3 English Practice: Performance Techniques

English psalm singers felt more at liberty to mix and match texts and tunes than their Genevan and Anglo-Genevan predecessors, and many had no problems with using musical instruments in worship to accompany metrical psalm singing. The most common instrument was the organ, which the followers of John Calvin commonly

⁴² As mentioned, music composition and theory significantly changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. As reflected in the musical treatises of the time, English music theory was shifting from a hexachordal system to a scalar octatonic system. This caused a major shift in the way composers wrote melodies and how performers sang them. Timothy A. Johnson, "Solmization in the English Treatises around the Turn of the Seventeenth Century: A Break from Modal Theory," *Theoria: Musical Aspects of Music Theory* 5 (1990): 42-60.

⁴³ Marsh notes that people only connected the popular ballad tune "Greensleeves" with the psalms when trying to disparage and discredit someone. He also notes the similar controversy that surrounded Slayter's *Psalmes, or Songs of Sion*. Marsh, *Music and Society*, 420-1; for more examples, see *MEPC*, 1:66.

⁴⁴ *MEPC*, 1:69.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 68-9.

maligned as a remnant of Roman Catholicism. These negative sentiments resulted in a movement to eliminate organs from English parish churches. The events of the Canterbury Convocation in 1562 are characteristic of these attempts. Leading up to the Convocation, Archbishop Matthew Parker asked the delegates to prepare articles and proposals on how to reform the Church of England. Several members of the assembly drew up the following article:

That the Psalms appointed at common prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone, in such convenient place of the church, as all may well hear and be edified; and that all curious singing and playing of organs may be removed.⁴⁶

By limiting worship music to *a capella* psalms, this article admittedly had little chance of success, as many still supported the use of hymns and organs. So, the assembly quickly defeated this first attempt, but the Calvinist members of the assembly did not give up. More than the continued use of hymns and canticles, Calvinists despised the sustained use of the organ. Thus, they tried again with a less restrictive article reading, "That the use of organs be removed."⁴⁷ The assembly also eventually rejected this article, allowing the organ to remain a part of worship services throughout England.

Despite this, many parish churches destroyed, sold, or stopped using their organs.⁴⁸ This could have been the result of a growing trend in English church music, as John Northbrooke argued: "that rich and large stipends be not so appointed for Musitians, that eyther very little, or in a maner nothing is prouided for the ministers which labour in the worde of God."⁴⁹ Since many English parish churches had problems paying their ministers, the expenses related to organist salaries and organ maintenance

⁴⁶ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1824), 500.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 503.

⁴⁸ *MEPC*, 1:44; Willis, *Church Music*, 90-103.

⁴⁹ John Northbrooke, *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes &c. commonly vsed on the Sabboth day, are reprobued by the Authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers* [STC 18670] (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577), 84. Also quoted in *MEPC*, 1:41.

may have been the first things they cut.⁵⁰ However, as Jonathan Willis's recent survey of English churchwardens' records shows, this is a simplification of a much more complex issue. Many churches in London kept their organs until John How, the city's best organ builder, died in 1571. Afterwards, there was nobody else with the skill to build and maintain organs. Willis does admit, however, that the financial situations of some parishes forced them to make decisions about which musical assets they would choose to maintain. Some chose to keep their organs and choirs. Others decided to maintain their bells.⁵¹ Though there were doubtless several parishes that sold or stopped using their organs due to the influence of Calvinistic thought, examples of such cases are surprisingly rare.

Many have noted the decline in parish organs,⁵² but as Willis' study shows, an unexpected number of churches maintained their organs through Elizabeth's reign, even beyond the death of How.⁵³ There is plenty of evidence to suggest that they used their organs to accompany their singing and to provide some background music during worship.⁵⁴ For example, in York:

...they had then a Custom in that Church, (which I hear not of in any other Cathedral, which was) that always before the Sermon, the whole Congregation sang a psalm, together with the Quire and the Organ...⁵⁵

Worcester also employed Thomas Tomkins as the organist from 1596 to 1646, and he arranged several psalm tunes for organ, posthumously printed in the 1668 edition of

⁵⁰ Temperley argues that finances, not theology, caused many parish churches to abandon their organs. *MEPC*, 1:45-6.

⁵¹ See Willis, *Church Music*, 90-103.

⁵² *MEPC*, 1: 43-4, 51-2; Green, "Protestantism and Music," 152; Beat Kümin, "Masses, Morris, and Metrical Psalms: Music in the English Parish c. 1400-1600," in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 79.

⁵³ Willis, *Church Music*, 90-102.

⁵⁴ *MEPC*, 1:40. Willis describes how two churches in Salisbury competed to produce the most extravagant music. Willis, *Church Music*, 100-1.

⁵⁵ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument, or a Remembrance of the Best Practical Musick* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676), 19.

Musica deo sacra.⁵⁶

Since the English allowed organs in worship, it is no surprise that they encouraged the use of musical instruments in domestic settings as well. Richard Allison's 1599 *Psalmes of Dauid in Meter* prints parts for the lute, orpharion, cittern, and bass viol in addition to the melody.⁵⁷ While Allison's psalter is unique, other harmonised psalters such as Daman's three editions [STCs 6219, 6220, 6221], Cosyn's psalter, and East's editions [STCs 2488, 2515, and 2538.5] encouraged the use of musical instruments as well.

Like the use of musical instruments in English worship services, the practice of applying *musica ficta* probably varied across the country. Indeed, the evidence regarding the use of *musica ficta* seems to affirm Christopher Marsh's recent comments on its use in English metrical psalmody. That is, metrical psalm singing in England diverged into two different practices. The commoner who was untrained in music probably sang psalms without using of *ficta*, while the musically educated may have employed *ficta* when they sang metrical psalms.⁵⁸

As Temperley notes, musicians employed *ficta* for art music, not folk music, and the relationship between metrical psalms texts and popular balladry suggests that most people would have associated psalm tunes with music that did not regularly use *ficta*.⁵⁹ Earlier chapters noted that psalm tune harmonisations often necessitated modifications to the psalm tunes, but that the underlying characteristics of the melodies remained largely unchanged.⁶⁰ The most significant melodic changes that had a lasting impact on the psalm melodies toward the middle of the seventeenth century

⁵⁶ MEPC, 1:51; Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the office of Organist and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, Worcester* (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1918), 57.

⁵⁷ See title page, STC 2497.

⁵⁸ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 441-2.

⁵⁹ MEPC, 1:65. For discussion on some of the parallels between metrical psalms and ballads, see pp. 17, 39, 253, and 260.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

are attributable to Ravenscroft's 1621 Psalter. As discussed in Chapter 5, Ravenscroft's settings revealed that many of his adjustments to the psalm tunes resulted from his harmonisations. They were not necessarily examples of modifications that had been part of common practice, following the rules of *musica ficta*. Therefore, Temperley's assertion that singers rarely applied *ficta* to psalm tunes may be correct. He argues that the sol-fa psalters through the period provide further evidence that *ficta* was uncommon for psalm tunes.⁶¹ They did not adjust their solfege to allow for *ficta*, and in sixteenth-century English music theory, this would have taken a different approach than Continental music. As shown from the English theoretical treatises of the sixteenth century, English solfege was scalar and hexachordal, and did not allow for modified syllables. That is, English theorists did not direct singers to use syllables such as "me," "fi," and "si" for chromatic alterations resulting from *ficta*. Instead theorists suggested that performers should move the "mi" and "fa" syllables to allow for the resulting half step.⁶²

Perhaps even more importantly, the musico-theoretical treatises aimed at teaching the musically non-literate how to read and sing music neglected to mention the practice of using *musica ficta*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Day psalters often appeared with a short musical treatise entitled, "A shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke." Its unknown author asserts that having learned how to solmizate a hexachord, "all other songes and Psalmes, with little vse and a small labour will sone be attayned vnto."⁶³ This treatise does not mention the need to adjust notes following the rules of *musica ficta*. However, the author later claims:

I haue set here in the beginning of this boke of psalmes, an easie and moste playne way and rule, of the order of the Notes and Kayes of singing, whiche commonly is called the scale of Musicke, or the *Gamma vt*. Wherby (any diligence geuen therunto) euerye man may in a fewe dayes: yea, in a few

⁶¹ *MEPC*, 1:65.

⁶² Johnson, "Solmization," 42-60.

⁶³ "A shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke," in *STC* 2430.

houres, easely without all payne, and that also without ayde or helpe of any other teacher, attayne to a sufficient knowledg, to singe any Psalme containd in this Booke, or any suche other playne and easy Songes as these are.⁶⁴

Had psalm singers used *ficta*, such a claim that readers would not need any other "ayde" or "teacher" would have been false without printing the rules for applying *ficta*.

However, there was also movement in England to raise the metrical psalms to that of art music, as displayed in the editions by Daman, Cosyn, and Allison. It is therefore possible that trained musicians applied *ficta* when singing metrical psalms.

Writing in 1688, Thomas May wrote in the "Preface" to an edition of *The Whole booke*:

But I hold it best, That the Clerks do proceed in their old fashion, of one *Time*, for a while, until the people may become acquainted with the different *Times* of the *Notes*, and the right way of singing them; who (then) will be able to follow as readily as Travellers do their Guides; wherein also the Clerks must remember to declare, with an audible voice, to the Congregations when they will keep their accustomed one *Time*, or when the proper musical *Times*; and likewise when they will observe the *b. flat*, called in Musick the *fa* Notes, or half Notes, and the mark *x* called *sharp*, or when they will omit the notice of them, which Characters *b.* and *x* will be spoken of in their proper place. For otherwise the people in Congregations will confound one anothers all over, not knowing which sorts of *Times* to observe, or how to conform to the degrees of their Voices.⁶⁵

May did not explicitly state that psalm singers used *ficta*, but he suggested that congregants may need some direction from the Clerk regarding which flats and sharps to follow. This implies first that *ficta* may have remained common among trained musicians at the end of the seventeenth century. It also suggests that seventeenth-century psalm singers may have inconsistently applied *ficta* to their tunes.

The evidence also suggests that harmonised psalm singing was popular in England. In particular, four-part harmonisations of metrical psalm tunes appeared during the earliest days of the metrical psalms in England. Though it provides only one tune for the 150 psalms, Robert Crowley's 1549 Psalter [*STC* 2725] prints a harmonised

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Emphases original. Thomas May, *The Whole Book of Psalms, As they are now sung in the Churches: with the Singing Notes of Time and Tune Set to every Syllable* (London: R. Everingham, 1688), B2^v.

version of its tune. Similarly, Francis Seager's 1553 Psalter [STC 2728] includes four-part harmonisations for both of its metrical psalm tunes.⁶⁶ After Elizabeth's accession the demand for simple four-part tune settings remained, and John Day's harmonised psalter of 1563 [STC 2431] sought to fill that demand. This edition included harmonisations of all the metrical psalm tunes as well as harmonised settings of the hymns and canticles. Following the success of this edition, Day printed *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts* [STC 2418] in 1565.⁶⁷ Though it did not print any metrical psalms, *Certaine notes* contained settings of the canticle tunes that also appeared in Day's *Whole booke*. Archbishop Matthew Parker's metrical psalter [STC 2729], which also provided four-part harmonisations of his nine metrical psalm tunes.⁶⁸ Though it did not influence English psalm practice like Day's Sternhold and Hopkins psalters, Parker's psalter nonetheless reveals a continuing demand for harmonised psalm tunes.⁶⁹ Since Parker framed his psalter for seamless integration into the English Prayer Book worship services,⁷⁰ he must have known churches that could perform his four-part harmonisations.⁷¹

The longest gap of time between harmonised metrical psalters occurred between Parker's edition and the first of William Daman's editions [STC 6219]. What is interesting about this volume is that he did not intend for churches to use it. Even Daman's two 1591 editions, and John Cosyn's *Musike of Six, and Fiue parts. Made vpon*

⁶⁶ Although it did not include metrical psalms, Christopher Tye's *Acts of the Apostles* [STC 2985] also printed four-part musical settings for its versifications.

⁶⁷ This work was begun in 1560, but Day set it aside until other more important items (i.e. the *Whole booke* and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*) were finished. See Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 182.

⁶⁸ These settings by Tallis may have been composed during Edward's reign, but their appearance in Parker's Psalter illustrates the continued market for four-part psalm settings.

⁶⁹ Only Parker's tune from Psalm 67 would find its way into later psalters. Most notably, Ravenscroft's 1621 Psalter printed the tune as the "Exhortation."

⁷⁰ N.C. Bjorklund, "Matthew Parker and the reform of the English church during the reigns of Henry VII and Edward VI," (Ph.D. diss., University of California Irvine, 1987), 198.

⁷¹ Most probably these were best suited for parishes that maintained choirs. Willis, *Church Music*, 114-18; *MEPC*, 1:43-4, 51.

the common tunes vsed in singing of the Psalmes [STC 5828] from 1585 were intended for private use and not for trained choirs in church. Indeed, Daman's settings may have been the results of a parlour trick, as he often composed a new harmonisation when he visited a friend's house.⁷² Cosyn similarly claims that his friends encouraged him to print his harmonisations, "for the priuate vse and comfort of the godlie, in place of many other Songs neither tending to the praise of God, nor conteining any thing fit for Christian eares."⁷³

Richard Allison envisaged a comparable purpose for his 1599 psalter, *The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter* [STC 2497]. The title page suggests that performers should play its settings on lute, orpharion, cittern, or bass viol.⁷⁴ While English churches did not necessarily sing their psalms *a capella*, as discussed earlier, this particular combination of instruments suggests secular performance contexts. Even in his dedication to Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick, Richard Allison remains deeply personal with his descriptions of the virtues of the psalms. He wrote:

And that our meditations in the Psalmes may not want their delight, we haue that excellent gift of God, the Art of Musick to accompany them: that our eyes beholding the words of Dauid, our fingers handling the Instruments of Musicke, our eares delighting in the swetenesse of the melody, and the heart obseruing the harmony of them: all these do joyne in an heauenly Consort, and God may bee glorified and our selues refreshed therewith.⁷⁵

Rather than overtly tying his efforts to public worship and devotion, Allison focused on the benefits of the psalms on the individual. The statement that God delights in people singing his words accompanied by their fingers on musical instruments, suggests the importance of personal experience and private devotion.

⁷² He intended these for the private use of his hosts. Peter Le Huray and John Morehen, "Daman, William," *OMO*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07112>.

⁷³ STC 5828, fol. A2^r.

⁷⁴ STC 2497.

⁷⁵ Richard Allison, "To the right Honorable and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Countesse of Warwicke," in STC 2497.

This focus on personal devotion was largely absent from Thomas East's psalter editions and Thomas Barley's psalter from 1599. Rather, both men tried to align their psalters with current church practice in England. East named his psalters, *The Whole booke of Psalmes with their wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure partes*. Barley invokes the Day psalters, calling his psalter *The Whole booke of Psalmes, With their woonted Tunes, as they are sung in Churches, composed into foure parts*. In his 1592 psalter, East writes, "In this booke the Church Tunes are carefully corrected, & other short Tunes added, which are song in London and other places in this Realme."⁷⁶ However, most English parish churches in the sixteenth century did not sing their psalms in four parts, as the psalter's title and East's words would seem to indicate. A careful reading of his preface shows that East was not claiming that most parishes sang in four parts:

And I haue not onely set downe in this booke all the Tunes vsually printed heretofore, with as much truth as I could possibly gather among diuers of our ordinary Psalme bookes, but also haue added those, which are commonly song now adayes, and not printed in our common Psalme books with the rest. And all this haue I so orderly cast, that the 4 parts lye alwayes together in open sight. The which my trauayle as it hath bene to the furtherance of Musicke, in all godly sort...⁷⁷

His emphasis was only on the tunes people sang most commonly in England, not whether the tunes were commonly sung in harmony. While clearly tied to traditional private practice, East added his harmonisations for the purpose of encouraging the "furtherance of Musicke." Had four-part singing been common practice in England at the time, East would not have considered his harmonisations as an attempt to further music but simply to improve public devotion.

As Temperley has noted, the most common form of harmonisation used with metrical psalm tunes was descant. Possibly descended from *faburden*, descant was an

⁷⁶ Thomas East, "To the Right Honorable Sir John Pvckering Knight Lord keeper of the great Seale of England," in *STC* 2482.

⁷⁷ East, "The Preface," in *STC* 2482, fol. B^r.

improvised harmonisation that usually moved note-for-note against the melody at an interval higher than the melody. Temperley presented a convincing case for the prevalence of descant singing, arguing that many of the common tunes such as “London” and “Oxford” originated as descants for “Glassenburie.”⁷⁸

It is possible that four-part singing became more common after 1621 in some locations. That year the Company of Stationers printed Ravenscroft's *The Whole booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, and Songs Spiritvall* [STC 2575]. Though it printed harmonised psalm tunes, Ravenscroft's psalter had the most significant lasting impact on the monophonic psalters that followed. As discussed in Chapter 5, Ravenscroft's harmonisations forced him to add accidentals to several of the melodies that had appeared in metrical psalters since 1562, or earlier. Unlike many of the minor variations introduced in the hundreds of psalter editions up to 1621, the changes introduced by Ravenscroft continued to appear in the monophonic psalters after that. This, as well as the 1633 reprint of his psalter, suggests people used Ravenscroft's psalm harmonisations at least for the brief period of time leading up to the English Civil Wars.

Combined with other factors, Ravenscroft's editions eventually superseded a series of metrical psalters that had been printed since 1569. Since his harmonisations of the tunes often forced him to add accidentals, the syllables in the sol-fa psalters did not reflect these changes. These changes would have required major revisions of the existing sol-fa syllables, so printers must have determined the sol-fa psalters were not worth the trouble. Had this been the only problem with the sol-fa editions, printers undoubtedly would have changed their sol-fa realisations of the tunes and continued to print them. English schools also moved away from the traditional method of solfege during the seventeenth century, decreasing the demand for these editions. At the time,

⁷⁸ *MEPC*, 1:73-4.

music theorists began to discourage the use of the traditional hexachordal system for solfege. Instead, they began to encourage the use of eight syllables to build octave scales.⁷⁹ Without a standardised method for revising the sol-fa psalters and with declining demand for the psalters from the schools, printers stopped printing them after 1634.

Besides those in Ravenscroft's Psalter, the seventeenth century saw the introduction of another major innovation that would change metrical psalmody in Britain for centuries to come. In 1636, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, wrote:

If any Psalmes be vsed to be sung in your Church, before or after the morning and euening prayer, or before or after the Sermons (vpon which occasions only, they are allowed to bee sung in Churches) is it done according to that graue maner (which first was in vse) that such doe sing as can reade the Psalmes, or haue learned them by heart, and not after that vncough and vndecent custome of late taken vp, to have euery line first read, and then sung by the people?⁸⁰

This is the first confirmed account of psalm singers lining-out their psalms, and it suggests that the practice was a recent innovation in 1636. Whether or not the precentor read or sang each line before the congregation repeated it is unclear from Bishop Wren's comments, but his comments indicate that this repetitive procedure was a new innovation. Norwich admittedly did not have the musical influence that a city like London did at the time, so lining-out probably came to Norwich from somewhere else. Since news and innovations spread quickly with travellers and merchants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, it is difficult to argue that people lined-out their psalms before 1630. Some have argued in the past that *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Saint Michael, Cornhill* of 1592 contain a reference to lining-out. In that year, the wardens decided to "provide a skylfull man to begyne the syngynge salmes and to agre wt hyme for a resonable stypent and to pay hyme

⁷⁹ Johnson, "Solmization," 42-58.

⁸⁰ Matthew Wren, *Articles to be Inqvired of within the Dioces of Norwich* [STC 10298] (London: Richard Badger, 1636), B3r; quoted in Craig, "Soundscape of Worship," 107.

therefore."⁸¹ The question revolves around what it meant to "begyne the syngynge salmes."⁸² Because lining-out involved a precentor singing and the congregation repeating each line of the psalm, a precentor who lined-out the psalms also "began" them. However, the same was true of the precentor who did not line-out the psalm. In the modern Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing), and Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, for example, the precentor begins each stanza, and the congregation joins him after the first few notes. The Reformed Presbyterian Churches of Ireland and North America (RPCI and RPCNA) stress that the congregation should begin each psalm together, so precentors will normally give the starting pitch (or tonic triad) before conducting the congregation to start together.⁸³ While sixteenth- and seventeenth-century precentors would not have given a tonic triad before beginning the psalm, they may have given the starting pitch and directed everyone to begin together. At the very least, they would have followed the practice of the former example, singing a couple of notes before the congregation joined in. Considering the earlier comments by Bishop Wren, it is doubtful that the account from Cornhill refers to lining-out. Most likely, it refers to a precentor who simply began the metrical psalms.

Bishop Wren's comments do raise another important question, however: how the non-literate could sing metrical psalms. As he writes, the previous practice in Norwich meant "that such doe sing as can reade the Psalmes, or haue learned them by heart" participated in psalm singing in the city. However, the descriptions of the participants in metrical psalm singing included people of various ages, vocations, and

⁸¹ *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Saint Michael, Cornhill*, ed. William Henry Overall (London: Alfred James Waterlow, 1868), 249; quoted from Willis, *Church Music*, 124.

⁸² Willis is one person who suggests it refers to lining-out. Ibid.

⁸³ As a precentor in the RPCNA and RPCS, these statements reflect my personal experience. I have also spent some time in Free Church and Free Church (Continuing) congregations, which also informs these statements.

training.⁸⁴ As Pettegree has argued, however, this was not a significant problem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If the non-literate had a literate person at hand to read the psalms and their tunes, they could quickly learn a text and tune.⁸⁵ Pettegree cites the example discussed by Hans-Christoph Rublack of a seditious song that was circulated around Nördlingen, Bavaria. The song in question was first sung in an inn, and later a person asked to have the song sung in his house. People sang the song again at another inn, and within a month it was well known throughout the city.⁸⁶ Once again, Pettegree's comments describe German practice, but there is no reason to believe that England or Scotland were any different. It is therefore reasonable to conclude based on this account, in combination with earlier discussions, that the non-literate did not have problems learning the psalms if they wanted to learn them.

The final area of English performance practice to be considered is the use of dynamics and tempo. There was little guidance offered to psalm singers on either topic. One of the few sets of suggestions appears in Ravenscroft's 1621 Psalter, in which he provides the following rules:

1. That Psalmes of Tribulation be sung with a low voice and long measure, Psal. 9, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143, &c.
2. That Psalmes of Thanksgiuing be sung with a voice indifferent, neither too loud, nor too soft, and with a measure neither too swift nor too slow, Psal. 18, 23, 27, 30, 31, 46, 48, 66, 81, 104, 105, 111, 118, 122, 124, 126, 138, 144, 145, 146.
3. That Psalmes of Reioycing be sung with a loude voice, a swift and locund measure, Psal. 33, 34, 47, 84, 95, 96, 98, 99, 108, 113, 117, 135, 136, 145, 147, 148, 150.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ See p. 251.

⁸⁵ Pettegree, *Reformation*, 53.

⁸⁶ Ibid.; Hans-Christoph Rublack, "The Song of Contz Anahans: Communication and Revolt in Nördlingen, 1525," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Pro-chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 111-13.

⁸⁷ Ravenscroft's preface can be found in the copy at Glasgow University (*GB-Gu F.e.25*). Thomas Ravenscroft, "To All that Have Skill, or Will vnto Sacred Musicke," in *STC* 2575.3.

Though it is difficult to know how consistently people applied his rules, it is worth noting that some may have made attempts to sing the psalm tunes in ways that suited their texts.⁸⁸

Some have also noted that psalm tunes were often called "Genevan jigs" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸⁹ However, this probably does not refer to the tempi of metrical psalm tunes. Calvin argued, "...the song be neither light nor frivolous, but that it have weight and majesty," so most psalm singers probably did not sing their tunes quickly.⁹⁰ Thus, even in England, they never really resembled what modern musicians would classify as a "jig."⁹¹ Rather, "Genevan jig" was a derogatory term that relied on a twist of sarcasm rather than an accurate description of the speed and style of performance practice. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an English jig was a burlesque that combined drama, music and dance. It joined improvised popular songs from the past with traditional ritual dances.⁹² Therefore, while a jig was generally associated with stage entertainment, the descriptions of Genevan psalm tunes as "Genevan jigs" refer to their appeal to the peasantry and their use of popular tune styles. Since psalm tunes were to be sung with "weight and majesty," the term was probably also a sarcastic jab at the slower speeds of metrical psalm singing.

While the tempi may not have been like fast dance tunes, they were not like slow dirges. There was, however, a general trend in English psalm singing to slow the tempi of psalm tunes. Musical evidence such as the time signature and rhythmic patterns suggest that the tunes were originally sung at a moderate pace. In particular, Temperley argues that the extensive use of common-time in Ravenscroft's 1621 *Whole*

⁸⁸ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 431.

⁸⁹ Ryrle, "Psalms and Confrontation," 118-27; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 518; *MEPC*, 1:63-4.

⁹⁰ Quoted from Charles Garside, "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Re-appraisal," *Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (October 1951): 569.

⁹¹ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 431.

⁹² Thurston Dart and Michael Tilmouth, "Jigg," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14308>.

booke indicates that tempi slowed in the early seventeenth century.⁹³ However, this is not as simple as he argued, since the time signatures in many of the Stationers' psalters after 1621 remained in cut-time.⁹⁴ Quoting from Bishop William Beveridge in 1710, Christopher Marsh recently added more evidence for slow tempi theory. He notes that parishioners never complained about the slow tempi but instead "admired" them as opportunities for "edification."⁹⁵ While some slowing of tempi in general may have occurred from 1560 to 1640, the most significant contributing factor to this trend must have been the introduction of lining-out in the 1630s. The repetition required in this new practice undoubtedly slowed psalm singing more than anything else through 1640.

Marsh adds that the slow tempi probably disassociated the psalm tunes from the popular ballad tunes of the day.⁹⁶ However, this ignores the fact that popular tunes had often been incorporated into art music, and often at significantly slower tempi. The compositional method of employing a slow-moving *cantus firmus* as the foundation for polyphonic pieces had begun with Léonin and Pérotin and the School of Notre Dame in the twelfth century.⁹⁷ One particularly popular tune for *cantus firmi* was "L'homme armé," as many composers wrote masses using this melody.⁹⁸ This *cantus firmus* technique continued to be used through the eighteenth century, as Johann Sebastian Bach used it extensively.⁹⁹ Often the purpose in using a slowly moving *cantus firmus*

⁹³ *MEPC*, 1: 63-4.

⁹⁴ For examples, see *STCs* 2614 (printed in 1629), 2625 (1631), 2649 (1634), and 2499.6 (1639).

⁹⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 431.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 434.

⁹⁷ These composers developed *organum*, which employed a *tenor* or *cantus firmus* as a foundation, and many composers who followed them used this compositional method.

⁹⁸ In particular, Guillaume Dufay, Josquin des Prés, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, and Giacomo Carissimi.

⁹⁹ One well-known example appears in the opening movement, "Kommt, Ihr Töchter, Helft Mir Klagen" of J.S. Bach's *Matthäus-Passion* [BWV 244] as the *soprano in ripieno* sings a verse from the hymn "O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig" over the double chorus.

was that listeners would recognise it, so a slow tempo for a tune probably was not enough to completely disassociate psalm singing from balladry.¹⁰⁰

English psalm singing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries varied across the country, but this diversity did not detract from its unifying nature. Men, women, and children all sang the psalms together. The literate and non-literate, the wealthy and the poor, the nobility and the peasantry all joined in singing metrical psalms. They used a set of around 40-50 tunes that fit each of the 150 psalms, and they were at liberty to vary their text-tune pairings. Some preferred to accompany their singing with musical instruments, and others did not. There were also those who preferred to sing their psalms using descants or multi-part harmonisations, while other people chose the monodic style of Geneva. English psalm singing therefore was organic, not static, and constantly changed from 1560-1640 to adapt to the needs of its singers. Some major innovations included the introduction of the Common Tune in the 1570s and 80s and the practice of lining-out around 1630. Regardless of the innovations, English metrical psalmody was simple and accessible for all of English society. Its melodies eschewed the complexities of art music so everyone could learn to sing the psalms throughout their daily lives. While there were some who rejected metrical psalm singing, the continued success of the Sternhold and Hopkins texts into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shows how profoundly successful these metrical psalms were in influencing English society.

6.4 Scottish Practice: Tunes and Texts

It is unclear how many tunes Scots commonly used with their metrical psalms. As noted above, popular balladry provided the basis for English psalm practice, since singers could mix and match psalm texts and tunes so long as the metres matched. The

¹⁰⁰ Temperley notes that other factors such as a regular rhythm and *tactus* and melodic repetition separated ballad tunes from psalm tunes. *MEPC*, 1: 33-4.

psalters printed by John Day and his successors encouraged singers to continue the practice of mixing and matching texts and tunes by printing a limited number of tunes for the 150 metrical psalm texts. In contrast, Scots did not have this underlying influence of popular music in their psalm singing. Admittedly metrical psalm settings that would eventually find their way into the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* were available long before Lekpreuik's 1565 *Forme of prayers*, as discussed in Chapter 1. However, the metres from the *Ballatis* mostly differed from their replacements in the Lekpreuik psalters as displayed in Appendix A, minimising any chance of musical association between these early poetic texts and those that followed in the Lekpreuik editions. In combination with the Genevan influence from Knox and his colleagues, the separation from popular forms led Scots to view each psalm as unique and thus deserving a unique tune.

This approach to the metrical psalms led Lekpreuik to print 105 tunes in his metrical psalters. Considering he printed so many tunes, some question whether Scots could learn them all. However, James Melville recalls:

The minister [in Montrose] was able to teatche na offer but annes in the ouk [or, once in the week]; but haid a godlie honest man reidar [Jhone Beatie], wha read the Scripture distinctlie, and with a religius and devot feilling; wherby I fand my selff movit to giff guid eare, and lern the Stories of Scripture, also to tak plesure in the Psalmes, quhilk he haid almost all by hart, in prose.¹⁰¹

The nephew of the preacher Andrew Melville, James was also an academic whose diaries provide some valuable insights into Scottish life after the Reformation.

According to James, people could memorise many of the psalms and their tunes, which should not surprise modern scholars. There are churches today that commonly use more than 200 tunes, which most congregants would be comfortable singing without

¹⁰¹ James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, 1842), 22.

the aid of printed music.¹⁰² In addition, Ross W. Duffin notes that many modern balladeers know hundreds of ballads.¹⁰³ More relevant to the sixteenth century, however, Nicholas Bownd's complaint in England and the spread of the seditious song in Nördlingen, reveal that even non-literate people had no problems learning the latest ballads. Therefore, they could learn psalm tunes as well. Melville's diaries provide yet another important illustration:

The Lard of Done, mentioned befor, dwelt oft in the town [Montrose], and of his charitie interteined a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our scholl teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thair of, and sing them in the kirk; be heiring of whome I was sadylyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thair of in miter, quhilk I haiff thought ever sen syne [or, since that time] a grait blessing and comfort.¹⁰⁴

Admittedly the blind man in this case had a gift for singing, and his blindness forced his non-literacy. Nevertheless, he memorised the psalms and their tunes so he could sing in church and teach them to others such as Melville.

Both of Melville's accounts note that these two men learned many of the metrical psalm tunes. An examination of existing sources describing instances of psalm singing suggests that Scottish churches used a similarly large repertory of tunes.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the majority of extant sources neglect to mention which psalm text and tune people sang, but there are a number that do provide these details. Appendix D lists these references that either directly state or imply that people sang a particular psalm. Because of the significant majority of CM texts printed in Scottish metrical psalters, instances of singing CM psalms dominate the historical accounts. However, as

¹⁰² The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA) printed a psalter in 1973 that includes more than 400 psalm tunes, of which my experience confirms that an estimated 200 melodies can be sung by most church members without the aid of printed music. *The Book of Psalms for Singing* (Pittsburgh: Crown and Covenant, 1973).

¹⁰³ Ross W. Duffin, "Ballads in Shakespeare's World," in *Noyses, Sounds, and Sweet Aires: Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 36-7.

¹⁰⁴ Melville, *Autobiography*, 22.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix D.

shown by the metres found in the *Gude and godlie ballatis*, CM was not a popular Scottish metre at the time. This would have made it difficult for churches to find CM melodies outside the Scottish metrical psalter with which they could pair the texts. Of Lekpreuik's psalm texts, the LM ones would have been much easier to pair with popular melodies according to evidence from the *Ballatis*.¹⁰⁶ Performances of psalms using this metre appear in several historical accounts, but not enough to infer that Scots regularly used popular tunes. In fact, extant historical accounts mention people singing psalm texts that employed more than 12 different metres, suggesting that most Scots sang the psalms as written in their psalters. Many of these accounts admittedly come from locations that would have had access to trained musicians through a local song school, so it is possible that more remote parishes had more limited psalm tune repertoires. However, even in these circumstances, historians should exercise caution before assuming that these areas did not sing a majority of the tunes in the Scottish psalter. Just as pedlars crossed the country teaching the latest popular tunes to the people they met, they also probably taught psalm tunes.¹⁰⁷

The diaries of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston from the 1630s provide most of the psalm references found in Appendix D. Interestingly, many refer to psalms versified in metres other than CM, suggesting that Edinburgh churches continued to use many of the proper tunes as printed in the Scottish psalters in the 1630s. As James Porter argues, however, churches increasingly paired the CM texts with the Common Tunes, which Andro Hart first printed in his psalters in 1615.¹⁰⁸ As the lasting remnant from the English-influenced confusion in Scottish psalters printed around the turn of

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁷ Melville, *Autobiography*, 22-3.

¹⁰⁸ James Porter, "'Blessed spirits, sing with me!': Psalm-singing in context and practice," in *Defining Strains*, ed. James Porter (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 306.

the century, these so-called "Common Tunes" printed in Hart's psalters probably started to gain acceptance in Scottish churches after 1600.¹⁰⁹

As with English historians, however, several Scottish historians have insisted that most Scottish psalm singers shifted from the proper tunes to the Common Tunes earlier than 1600. One confusing quotation potentially speaks about the frequency of singing in the Kirk and the number of tunes they used. Concerned with the psalm singing in the areas surrounding Edinburgh, the city's Kirk session minutes recorded, "The said day [6 January 1574], the kirk ordanis Edward Hendersoun and his sounes, to sing the salmis on the preching dayis in sic touns as ar maist colmoun for the kirk."¹¹⁰

Acting under the assumption that non-literate congregations could not learn and perform all 105 tunes as printed in the Scottish psalters, Gordon Munro suggests it should read, "to sing the salmis on the preching dayis in sic *tunes* as ar maist colmoun for the kirk."¹¹¹ Presuming this to be an injunction against Hendersoun and his son singing new or lesser-known tunes, Munro argues it suggests a diminishing repertory of tunes in common Scottish practice. If the Kirk was trying to encourage the Hendersouns to choose "tones" or tunes that were more well-known, this does not mean that they were ordering him to use the Common Tunes nor is it necessarily indicative of a diminishing repertory of tunes. Since the Common Tunes would not be codified until the middle-to-end of the seventeenth century, the Kirk's recommendation may have simply ordered the Hendersouns to stop using new tunes, or at least tunes that were unknown to the congregation they were serving.

However, his interpretation of the word "touns" is not so straightforward as spelling in sixteenth-century Scots was hardly standardised. It is also possible that the Kirk's statement stipulated in which *towns* or settlements to lead the singing, rather

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these psalters.

¹¹⁰ *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833-4), 1:113.

¹¹¹ Gordon Munro, "Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700," (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1999), 160-1.

than the tunes they were to use when singing. This amended reading of the passage could suggest first, that Hendersoun and his son should follow the preachers around to the surrounding towns to be the Reader or precentor for those remaining parishes that did not have someone to fill these important roles. Therefore, it could simply have been a formal extension of his duties as the master of the Edinburgh song school.¹¹² As Munro's study shows, once the song schools were re-established, the song-school masters often also "took up the psalms" at the local parish kirks. The Edinburgh Kirk's statement extended Hendersoun's job description to include leading the singing in worship, which would become a widespread practice for Scottish song-school masters after the schools were re-established in 1579.¹¹³

Inextricably tied into the public's ability to sing the tunes printed in the Scottish metrical psalters was the availability of men who could read the tunes and lead the congregation in singing them. The extent to which smaller parishes had access to Readers or precentors has received much attention over the past twenty years. Unfortunately, many parishes in Scotland did not keep records of their proceedings, limiting historians to the surviving records from the larger towns and burghs. Gordon Munro examined the various extant town and church records from this time, confirming that most locations employed precentors or Readers to take up the psalms.¹¹⁴ Similar efforts by John McCallum have also shown that most parishes in Fife had a Reader by 1570, and Margaret Sanderson's study of the Ayrshire records revealed that most of its parishes had one by 1575.¹¹⁵ By implication, then, most churches probably employed a person who could read the psalms and sing them by

¹¹² Hendersoun took over from John Fethy as the song school's master in 1551 and would become the prebendary of the choir of Saint Giles Kirk and the cantor at the Chapel Royal. Munro, "Scottish Music," 160.

¹¹³ Ibid., 322.

¹¹⁴ Munro, "Scottish Music," *passim*.

¹¹⁵ John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: the Reformation in Fife, 1560-1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 34-5; Margaret Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 159-76.

1575.¹¹⁶ Had this not been the case, the Common Tunes probably would have gained acceptance in Scotland long before 1600, but the availability of Readers helped to maintain a diverse repertory of psalm tunes in Scotland.

There is some additional evidence that contradicts Munro's theory that Common Tunes became popular in the 1570s. First, the end of John Davidson's 1602 *Some helpes for young Schollers in Christianity, as they are in vse & taught* [STC 6324.5] prints a curious pair of psalm tunes. One is a new four-part tune paired with a new versification of Psalm 130, and Kenneth Elliott noted that its harmonic language and melodic style seem to match others composed by the Scottish musician and minister, Andrew Blackhall, suggesting that Blackhall may have worked with Davidson on the project.¹¹⁷ The other tune is paired with Norton's versification of Psalm 117, which did not appear in Scottish metrical psalters. This tune originated in Daman's 1579 psalter edition as the proper tune for Psalm 23. Though modified in Davidson's *Some helpes*, the new version would become known in Scottish circles as the tune "London." While we may never be able to prove or disprove Elliott's theory that Blackhall also modified this tune, there are some interesting things to note about its incorporation into the repertory of Common Tunes in Scotland.¹¹⁸ First it is noteworthy that the tune originated in the Daman editions, and that it would become one of the four tunes that East insisted were used most commonly in English parish churches.¹¹⁹ East first paired the tune with Psalm 117 in his 1594 edition of *The Whole booke* [STC 2488], and Schilders' 1602 English edition did as well. By 1602, when Robert Waldegrave printed Davidson's *Some helpes*, there had been two English publications that paired this text

¹¹⁶ See Porter, "'Blessed spirits,'" 299-322.

¹¹⁷ Kenneth Elliott, "Some helpes for young schollers: A New Source of Early Scottish Psalmody," in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 267-71.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ See discussion, p. 181.

and tune. It is interesting that Elliott notes the peculiar type-setting for Psalm 117, which he notes resembles “Byrd’s *Cantiones sacrae* of 1589 and other contemporary English and European prints” rather than the smaller type used in Scottish prints.¹²⁰ East printed the *Cantiones sacrae* as Byrd’s official assign, and five years later he first paired Psalm 117 with Daman’s tune from Psalm 23. While there are no known connections between East and Waldegrave or Davidson, it is interesting that Waldegrave began his printing career in London before moving up to Edinburgh in 1590. Although he left before East first paired Psalm 117 with the tune, he may have known the tune before he left for Scotland and subsequently became aware of East’s text-tune pairing after 1594 through his remaining connections down in London. It is also possible that Davidson encountered the tune during his brief time in England from 1577 to 1579.¹²¹ However the tune made its way into the volume, it is important to note that it was probably not popular in Scotland before 1602 since Schilders used the tune in his 1602 English edition but not his 1602 Scottish edition.

The second interesting potential reference to the use of Common Tunes issued from the press of Robert Waldegrave in 1598, James Melville’s *A Spiritvall propine of a Pastour to his People* [STC 17816]. Melville wrote,

...I carefully recommend vnto you, this your Catechisme, & instruction in the right way of the true seruice of God, and atteyning to saluation be Iesus Christ, included in this little Poeme, and framed to the common toones, wherewith ye are best acquainted...¹²²

It would be tempting to assert that Melville wanted his congregants to use the Common Tunes for his volume, but this reads a bit too much into Melville’s comments. After all, the repertory of Common Tunes had yet to be established.¹²³ While some Scottish

¹²⁰ Waldegrave used this smaller type for Psalm 130. Elliott, “*Some helpes*,” 271.

¹²¹ James Kirk, “Davidson, John (c. 1549-1604),” *ODNB*, 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7217.

¹²² James Melville, “Dedicatorie Epistle,” in *A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastour to his People* [STC 17816] (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, [1598]), 3^r.

¹²³ Tunes continued to be added to the set of Common Tunes from 1615 to 1635. See Appendix B.

psalm singers were experimenting with their text-tune pairings in the 1590s, as evidenced in the printed psalters, this does not mean that the Scottish psalm tune repertory had condensed into the 12 Common Tunes at the same time. Melville's *Propine* simply asked his readers to sing his texts using tunes "wherewith ye are best acquainted." Indeed, several portions of Melville's *A Morning vision*, which is a multi-part poem included in the *Propine*, would not have fit the metre of the Common Tunes: "The Paterne of true Faith and Repentance" and "Conclusion." In addition, the metres of "The feeling of sinne and force of Faith for saluation" and "The way and end of Voluptie and Vertue," would not have fit the Common Tunes. While other psalm tunes would have fit these texts, Melville may not even have intended his readers to use only psalm tunes. He suggests that the "Precepts of repentance" in *A Morning vision* should "...bee song with the tone of Ah my love leave me not,"¹²⁴ and later he prints the "Seamans shovte," neither of which were psalm tunes. Admittedly, the majority of the texts included in his *Propine* are written in CM, which would have matched the Common Tunes, but they also would have fitted the majority of the proper tunes in the Scottish metrical psalter. Given the fact that the Common Tunes had yet to be collected and given that title, it is more likely that Melville was suggesting that his readers use the tunes with which each of them was most familiar. This probably included the best-known proper psalm tunes as well as popular ballad tunes.

¹²⁴ Melville, *Spiritvall Propine*, 96.

Table 6.1: Editions of the Scottish metrical psalms printed without tunes

Year	STC	Printer	Size
1603	2703	Robert Charteris	12 ⁰
1616	2708.5	Andro Hart	32 ⁰
1625	2710	Heirs of Hart	4 ⁰
1625	2711	E. Raban	24 ⁰
1626	2713	E. Raban	12 ⁰
1629	2714	E. Raban	12 ⁰
1629	16595	E. Raban	4 ⁰
1630	2715	Heirs of Hart	8 ⁰
1630	2715.5	Heirs of Hart	12 ⁰
1632	2717	Heirs of Hart	4 ⁰
1632	2718	Heirs of Hart	24 ⁰
1633	2721	Heirs of Hart	8 ⁰
1635	2722	Robert Young	24 ⁰
1639	2722.5	Robert Bryson	24 ⁰
1635	16600	Iohn Wreittoun	12 ⁰
1640	2723	James Bryson	4 ⁰
1640	2724	James Bryson	12 ⁰

While Melville's *Propine* probably does not refer to the Common Tunes, it does suggest that certain psalm tunes were more popular than others. This is not surprising considering the musical consolidations of the Anglo-Genevan editions of the *Forme of prayers*.¹²⁵ This set of more commonly used psalm tunes, or lowercase common tunes, probably was an ever-changing collection of tunes that slowly began to resemble the collection of Common Tunes that first appeared in Hart's 1615 edition. Therefore, while the Common Tunes probably started becoming popular before 1615, they were not used before 1600. Most likely, Hart's 1615 edition confirmed and extended a practice that had been developing since 1600.

A series of metrical psalters printed by a number of Scottish printers seems to affirm this theory that Common Tunes only began to be used after 1600 and did not become popular until after 1615. This was a series of Scottish metrical psalters that did not print music for their versifications (Table 6.1). Following similar text-only editions printed by John Windet in England in 1599 and 1600, Robert Charteris printed an

¹²⁵ See Chapter 1, pp. 59-64.

edition of the Scottish metrical psalter without tunes in 1603 and at least sixteen more would follow from various presses through 1640.¹²⁶ Since Scottish metrical psalters were more static than their English counterparts, this was an interesting development in Scottish psalm printing.¹²⁷ Only in 1603 did Charteris first think there might be a use for such a volume, but another would not appear until 1616. Interestingly, the years in which this first edition appeared were precisely when English metrical psalmody most influenced Scottish metrical psalmody. Not only did printed editions for the Scottish church reflect an English influence, the Common Tunes that were becoming popular in England also appeared in Scotland. The fact that Hart did not follow his own 1616 edition with another through the rest of his life, however, suggests that before 1620 the traditional proper psalm tunes still dominated Scottish performance practice.¹²⁸ This must have changed after 1620, as both Hart's Heires and Edward Raban issued text-only versions in 1625, and an average of at least one per year appeared until 1640.¹²⁹ The appearance of these text-only editions after 1600 and popularisation after 1625 suggests that the printed tunes were less important after 1625. Most likely, this shift parallels the introduction and spread of the Common Tunes in Scotland.

The repertory of psalm tunes may have begun to change in the seventeenth century, but Scots continued to use the same psalm texts that had been established in Lekpreuik's 1565 edition. However, these texts had become very important to Scots before the 1560 Reformation Crisis. One well-known story showing this fact comes

¹²⁶ Windet's editions were *STCs* 2498 and 2501, respectively.

¹²⁷ For more on the printed Scottish metrical psalters, see Chapters 4 and 5.

¹²⁸ The next edition to issue from the Hart presses came in 1625, 4 years after Hart had died and his heirs had taken over the business. Alastair J. Mann, "Hart, Andro (*b.* in or before 1566, *d.* 1621)," *ODNB*, 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12470.

¹²⁹ It is important to note that these were not only marketed to poorer Scots; the various sizes in which they appeared suggests a wide market. Larger volumes—4^o sizes—often were more expensive than the smaller ones—24^o and 32^o sizes—suggesting that people of all classes purchased them.

from Knox's *Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland*. Shortly before the death of Elizabeth Adamsoun in 1555, Knox records:

A litill befoir hir departuyre, she desyred hir Sisteris, and some otheris that war besyd hir, to sing a psalme, and amonges others, she appointed the 103. Psalme, begynnyng, " My saule praise thow the Lord alwyse ;" which ended, sehe said, "At the teaching of this Psalme, begane my trubled soule first effectually to taist of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more sweet and precious then all the kingdoms of the earth war gevin to me to possesse thame a thowsand yearis."¹³⁰

It is unclear if the small group sang Psalm 103 or Psalm 146, as Knox provides the incipit from Hopkins' versification of Psalm 146. To be fair to Knox, the openings of the two psalms are similar, as Sternhold's version of Psalm 103 begins, "My soule geue laude vnto the lord." Whether the group sang Psalm 103 or 146 is also irrelevant, as the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* did not include either psalm. Instead, Knox's record of the events suggests the Sternhold and Hopkins texts had spread to Scotland by this time. In addition to Adamsoun's personal experience with the psalm and her request for it to be sung, the group's ability to fulfil it shows the influence of the metrical psalms on the lives of some Scots even at this early date.

Descriptions of the iconoclastic revolts in 1558 and 1559 provide added evidence for the influence of the metrical psalms on the lives of Scots before 1560.¹³¹ One such revolt happened in Edinburgh in 1558 during the celebration for Saint Giles Day. Normally the day's festivities included a march through the streets of the city with the priests carrying a statue of the saint. When Regent Mary of Guise, the leader of the procession, stopped for dinner at Alexander Carpenter's house, she left the statue outside. A group of people saw this as an opportunity to express their disapproval of what they considered an idolatrous display, so they rushed the statue, pulling it off its

¹³⁰ John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1846-64), 1:246-7.

¹³¹ Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 122-3.

carrying base and beheading it. Calderwood reports that after this high-profile case of iconoclasm, the Regent sought those who were responsible:

Searche was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended; for the brethrein assembled themselves in suche sort, in companeis, singing psalmes, and praising God, that the proudest of enemies were astonished.¹³²

Clearly the groups of Protestants involved in the incident knew the psalms and regularly sang them, even before the official Reformation in Scotland and before Lekpreuik released his psalter in 1564-5.

Once Knox and his colleagues established the Scottish Kirk in 1560, the use of metrical psalms in Scottish worship practice was not mandatory. As described in Chapter 3, the Scottish General Assembly took ownership of the Anglo-Genevan order of worship, which was then in use in several churches in Scotland. However, it did not mandate the metrical psalms in all churches, since some areas did not have people who could teach the new psalm tunes. The Kirk's official instructions initially were permissive rather than prescriptive. During these interim years, it is only certain that those churches that used the Anglo-Genevan order of service sang Psalm 103 after the Lord's Supper.¹³³ Otherwise, it is a mystery which psalms these congregations sang before and after the sermon.

When work began on the *First Book of Discipline*, Scotland still did not have a completed psalter to use. However, the final version of the *First Book* approved by the General Assembly ordered churches to use the psalms in various ceremonies and elements of worship. As a result, the metrical psalms became more ingrained in Scottish society between 1560 and 1564 so that the General Assembly's mandate for churches to purchase—and presumably use—Lekpreuik's metrical psalter was not too large an imposition on most Scottish churches. Besides singing them before and after

¹³² Knox, *Works*, 1:261; David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1843), 1:346-7.

¹³³ *STC* 16561, p. 79.

the sermon, the *First Book* directed people to sing psalms when appointing new ministers and after reinstating an excommunicated member.¹³⁴ These recommendations are admittedly ambiguous for those seeking to understand Scottish worship in the earliest days of the Kirk. The framers of the *First Book* recognised the value of allowing some flexibility, but they did recommend specific psalms for some parts of worship. They directed congregations to sing Psalm 23 after superintendent elections, Psalm 101 after excommunications, and Psalm 128 after marriages.¹³⁵ Later publications added other recommendations to these including Psalm 51 during fasts,¹³⁶ as well as Psalm 23 after translating bishops and archbishops.¹³⁷

Apart from the official recommendations of the Kirk, the diaries of James Melville and Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston provide commonplace, everyday examples of psalm singing in the various churches in Scotland.¹³⁸ In St Andrews, James Melville remembered that in 1572,

...the Primarius [Mr James Wilkie]...causit sing comounlie the 44 and 70 Psalmes, quhilk I lernit *par ceur*, for that was the yeir of the bludie massacres in France and grait troubles in this countrey, the warres betwix Leithe and Edinbruche being very hat.¹³⁹

The various accounts in Johnston of Wariston's diaries show that Edinburgh churches regularly sang psalms other than those expressly recommended in the *Book of Discipline* and other Kirk documents. Based on his accounts, it is unlikely that Scots systematically sang through the psalters, but it is certain that they sang through a significant part of the psalter regularly. As well as the CM, LM, and SM psalms,

¹³⁴ Calderwood, *History*, 2:53, 93.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 62, 90, and 120.

¹³⁶ *Knox Works*, 6:420.

¹³⁷ *The Forme and Maner of Ordaining Ministers. And Consecrating of Arch-bishops and Bishops, used in the Church of Scotland* [STC 16605] (Edinburgh: Thomas Finlason, 1620), 12, 23.

¹³⁸ For a list of the various references from Melville and Johnston of Wariston's diaries, see Appendix D.

¹³⁹ Melville, *Autobiography*, 27.

Warriston's comments noted that churches sang the oddly metred psalms including Psalms 118, 127, 136, 139, 142, and 143 (Appendix D).

Scots sang the psalms outside the Kirk as well, and the records from Edinburgh provide the largest concentration of detailed descriptions of psalm singing in Scotland. On 1 February 1583, King James sent a letter to the town council of Edinburgh asking them to prepare a banquet for the French ambassador, La Mott. Despite the disapproval of the ministers and Kirk session, the city continued with the banquet preparations. So, the Kirk responded by ordering a fast including worship, prayer, and psalm singing.¹⁴⁰

While the records stop short of providing more details such as the particular psalms that they sang, observers did note some of these more important details on other occasions. Psalm 124 was one of the most popular psalms in Edinburgh, as people sang it during celebrations, thanksgivings, and protests. The most famous account of Scots singing this psalm occurred on 4 September 1582, when the formerly exiled minister John Durie returned to Edinburgh:

John Durie cometh to Leith at night the 3d of September. Upon Tuesday the 4th of September, as he is coming to Edinburgh, there met him at the Gallowgreen 200, but ere he came to the Netherbow their number increased to 400; but they were no sooner entered but they encreased to 600 or 700, and within short space the whole street was replenished even to Saint Geilis Kirk: the number was esteemed to 2000. At the Netherbow they took up the 124 Psalm, "Now Israel may say," etc, and sung in such a pleasant tune in four parts, known to the most part of the people, that coming up the street all bareheaded till they entered the Kirk, with such a great sound and majestie, that it moved both themselves and all the huge multitude of the beholders, looking out at the shots and over stairs, with admiration and astonishment: the Duke [of Lennox] himself beheld, and reave his beard for anger: he was more affrayed of this sight than anie thing that ever he had sene before in Scotland. When they came to the kirk, Mr James Lowsone made a short exhortation in the Reader's place, to move the multitude to thankfulnes. Thereafter a psalm being sung, they departed with great joy.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Calderwood, *History*, 3:699-700.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 8:226.

The congregation in Saint Giles sang the same psalm the day after a failed raid in Holyroodhouse on 28 December 1591, and they sang it again after an attempt to assassinate James VI failed in August 1600.¹⁴²

While Psalm 124 was popular in public settings, Scots sang other psalms as well. During Mary Queen of Scots' formal entry into Edinburgh in 1561, she was presented with a psalter and Bible, and performers sang a psalm at the tableau at Netherbow Port while a dragon burned.¹⁴³ Similarly, when news of the defeat of the Spanish Armada reached Edinburgh, Robert Bruce, a minister in the city, assembled people at the Market Cross to sing Psalm 76.¹⁴⁴ On 4 June 1630 the Aberdeen council ordered the young people in the town to march through the town with the magistrates while singing psalms and playing musical instruments to celebrate the birth of Prince Charles, later to become Charles II.¹⁴⁵

The psalms also comforted Scots during sickness and while on their deathbeds. For instance, when the St Andrews minister Robert Blair had a dangerously high fever, he recounts, "I extolled my Lord and Saviour, yea, I sang to him, especially the 16th Psalm, for I felt within me that which is written in the end of that psalm."¹⁴⁶ Just as Elizabeth Adamsoun asked her family and friends to sing Psalm 103 before her death in 1555, other Scots sang the psalms on their deathbeds. For instance, the minister James Lawson asked his attendants to sing the 103rd Psalm shortly before he died,¹⁴⁷ and the troubled minister John Chalmers also asked his family and friends to sing Psalms 103 along with Psalm 124 while on his deathbed.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Ibid., 5:142, 6:56.

¹⁴³ John Guy, *My Heart is my own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), 137-9.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Young, *The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases* (London: A&C Black, 1909), 37.

¹⁴⁵ *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625-1642* (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), 29.

¹⁴⁶ Young, *Metrical Psalms*, 33.

¹⁴⁷ Calderwood, *History*, 4:201.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 7:161-2.

From these descriptions and the printed evidence, it is clear that the metrical psalms formed an integral part of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish life. Overall, Scots used a majority of the proper tunes printed in the Scottish metrical psalters, and they slowly began to incorporate some of the Common Tunes starting in 1600. They also continued to rely on the metrical versifications printed in the Scottish metrical psalters, using them during feasts and celebrations, fasts and protests, and when apprehending danger and death.

6.5 Scottish Practice: Singers of the Psalms

Many of the above accounts are examples of psalm singing among ministers and those who were fervent in their faith. However, metrical psalm singing became an important part of life for most Scots. The psalms became an integral part of song school education, which experienced a revival following James VI's 1579 Act of "tymous remeid."¹⁴⁹ Also in 1579, parliament joined the Kirk in encouraging the spread of metrical psalm singing in Scotland. They ordered:

...that all gentilmen houshaldaris and utheris worth thrie hundreth merkis of yeirlie rent or abone and all substantious yemen or burgessis likewise houshaldaris, estemit worth fyve hundreth pundis in landis or guidis, be haldin to have a bible and psalme buke in vulgare language in thair housis for the better instructioun of thame selffis and thair fameliis in the knowlege of God...¹⁵⁰

To enforce the law in Edinburgh, the provost, baillies, and council ordered people to bring their psalm-books to their baillies to confirm their compliance.¹⁵¹ In addition, the elders of Aberdeen ordered those who could read to learn to sing as well. This latter order ensured congregants could use their Bibles and psalm-books, which they had to

¹⁴⁹ Gordon Munro, "'Sang Schwylls' and 'Music Schools': Music Education in Scotland, 1560-1650," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 65-83.

¹⁵⁰ *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. University of St Andrews, <http://www.rps.ac.uk/mss/1579/10/25>; *Maitland Club*, 2:18-19.

¹⁵¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD 1573-1589* (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1882), 187.

bring with them to church.¹⁵² Taken altogether, these efforts of the Kirk, parliament, and town councils were successful in spreading the metrical psalms to people of all classes. As an example, John Durie's famous return to Edinburgh is relevant. Just 13 years after the Scottish parliament sanction, an estimated 2,000 people joined with Durie in the march to Saint Giles. According to the presbytery's census of Edinburgh, the city had 8,000 inhabitants in 1592.¹⁵³ Even allowing for some population growth between 1582 and 1592, at least a quarter of the city's population joined in the march. With such a vast number of people taking part, all levels of society and educational training probably were represented in the procession.¹⁵⁴

The metrical psalms became the religious songs of Scotland for both literate and non-literate people, despite their translational and poetic faults.¹⁵⁵ When the Kirk considered using King James' metrical psalm versifications in 1631, there was much resistance. Some have credited this rejection to growing fears in the Scottish Kirk of the king's growing influence in the church.¹⁵⁶ While this reasoning may have motivated some, the Kirk officially rejected the versifications for two reasons. First:

Both pastors and people be long custome, ar so acquainted with the psalmes and tunes therof; that as the pastors ar able to direct a psalme to be sung agreeable to the doctrine to be delyvered, so he that taketh vp the psalme is able to sing anie tune, and the people for the most part follow him.¹⁵⁷

The assembly also insisted that:

¹⁵² Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 72.

¹⁵³ Michael Lynch, Helen M. Dingwall, Charles McKean, "Edinburgh," *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t246.e101-s1>.

¹⁵⁴ Less than 30 percent of the city's adult males were merchants or craftsmen burgesses, indicating that this group of 2,000 people included men, women, and children of all ages and social classes. Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of some of these deficiencies.

¹⁵⁶ See Bownd's comments, pp. 256-60.

¹⁵⁷ *Bannatyne Miscellany*, 1:234.

Nixt the people ar acquainted with the old metaphrase more than any book in scripture, yea, some can sing all, or the most pairt, without buik, and some that can not read, can sing some psalmes.¹⁵⁸

These two excerpts indicate that most people knew most of the tunes and texts from the Scottish metrical psalters, including both the country's literate and non-literate populations. Contrary to modern belief, this was not a difficult task for the mainly aural culture of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Margo Todd also considered the ability of non-literate Scots to learn the metrical psalms. She noted that most Kirks engaged in a rigorous "programme of indoctrination" that included sermon recollection, psalm singing, and catechising children. While the literate could rely on their printed copies of these items, the non-literate had to rely on their memories from the psalm singing, catechising, and Bible reading that occurred at church. However, as Todd notes:

...this programme of indoctrination by sermon, Bible-reading, psalm-singing, public catechetical performance, home visitation and rigorous examination was aimed at mostly illiterate people, the preponderance of whom did pass the examinations and receive admission to communion, sing the psalms from memory, make their marks on the confession of faith and swear the Covenant.¹⁵⁹

Despite the many sources suggesting the success of metrical psalmody in Scotland at the time, problems remained. The General Assembly from 24-25 March 1596 reported that many in Scotland displayed "An universall coldnes, want of zeall, ignorance, contempt of the word, ministrie, and sacraments..." This, they argued, resulted from "the want of familie exercises, prayer, and the word, and singing of psalms; and if they be, they are profaned and abused..."¹⁶⁰ From these descriptions, some Scots did not follow the devotional dictates of the church, which included regularly singing the psalms at home. In addition, some devotional practices arose out

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 1:238.

¹⁵⁹ Todd, *Protestantism*, 83.

¹⁶⁰ John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 172.

of a desire to follow church law instead of a genuine desire to spend time in family devotions.

The Kirk Session of Stirling recorded a similar neglect for the reading of the Word and metrical psalm singing in their church on 14 April 1618. They noted:

... thair is ane ungodlie custume usit be sindrie honest men in ganging in the Uttir kirk upone the Sabbath befor the minister enter in the pulpet, quhen God his word is red publictlye and the salmis sung in the Inner kirk, quherby the said holie word is nocht revered as becumis; and therfor the present assemblie dischairgis all sic perambulatione in tymes cuming, and commandis that all the accustomat doaris therof sall, incontinent after the entrie within the uttir kirk, repair thair awin accustomat seatis and give cairfull attendance to the preaching and reeding of God his word and praising of his holie name, be singing of psalmes in all tyme cuming.¹⁶¹

Clearly some congregants in Stirling wandered about in the Outer Kirk during the Reader's Service, and thus distracted those who were trying to pay attention. The fact that some would rather converse in the hallways rather than give attention to the reading of the Word and singing of Psalms concerned the Kirk session. While this is a mild example, some resistance to metrical psalm singing in Scotland remained, just as it did in England.¹⁶² However, the evidence suggests that most Scots sang psalms both in church and at home.¹⁶³

In order to further encourage psalm singing and to promote Scottish music in general, James VI and the Scottish parliament passed the so-called "act of tymous remeid" in 1579. This act ordered all colleges and major burghs, "To erect and sett vp ane sang scuill with ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of the yowth in the said science of musik."¹⁶⁴ Munro's thorough study confirms that burghs and towns slowly re-established their song schools following the 1579 Act making song-school

¹⁶¹ *Maitland Club*, 1:456.

¹⁶² The Kirk Session of Stirling expressed concern for people meeting with the Brownists on 22 July 1639. *Maitland Club*, 1: 475.

¹⁶³ Todd, *Protestantism*, 41-2, 72-3, 312.

¹⁶⁴ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1814-75), 3:174; quoted in Munro, "Scottish Music," 36.

masters available in several areas in Scotland.¹⁶⁵ Besides teaching the children music, the song school gave its students practical performance experience by leading their local church in psalm singing with the school master. As records such as the Stirling Kirk Session minutes from 13 February 1621 show, churches often provided special booths or pews to allow their song schools to lead the singing:

The brethrein of the kirk, be advyse of my Lord Provest, thinkis meit that the pulpet and Reederis letrun salbe taine doune and reedefeit again...and that they mak commodious seattis about the fit thair of meit for the maister of the sang schooll and his bairnis to sit on, for singing of the psalmes in the tyme of the holie serveice of the kirk.¹⁶⁶

Evidently, these children did more than simply sing the melody with the congregation. Since the psalm harmonisations set by David Peebles, Andrew Kemp, Andrew Blackhall, John Angus and others provided musical content for these schools, students probably used them in worship services.¹⁶⁷ Despite their use in Scottish worship services, choirs did not replace congregational singing; instead, they supported and augmented the melodies sung by the congregation.¹⁶⁸

6.6 Scottish Practice: Performance Methods

One further area of Scottish psalmody deserves comment: the methods used for singing psalms in Scotland. As in other countries, psalm singing varied in Scotland depending on finances, personnel, and politics as much as religious convictions. When considering how Scots sang their psalms, one passage in James Melville's autobiography is helpful. He wrote:

Mairower, in these yeirs [1574] I lerned my music, wherin I tuk graitter delyt, of an Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha

¹⁶⁵ Amid concerns for the future of music in Scotland, the King and parliament passed the act, ordering burghs and major towns to re-establish their song schools, which had largely been defunded by the establishment of the Scottish Kirk. Munro, "Scottish Music," 321.

¹⁶⁶ *Maitland Club*, 1:458-9.

¹⁶⁷ Many of these psalm settings can be found in the music part books transcribed by Thomas Wode. *GB-Eu* La.III.483.1; *GB-Eu* La.III.483.2; *GB-Eu* La.III.483.3; *GB-Eu* DK.5.14; *GB-Eu* DK.5.15; *GB-Lbl* Add. 33933; *IRL-Dtc* MS412; *US-Wgu* MS10.

¹⁶⁸ The role of these mini-choirs is discussed further on p. 301.

haid been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceive thair of was within the Collage; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn.¹⁶⁹

This passage suggests that Melville did well at learning music by ear, and that he could sing the Psalms in church. He indicates that his “good ear” probably hindered his ability to perform written music, but some of the specifics regarding Melville’s education are a bit more obscure in this passage. His comment that he learned “plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes” is somewhat vague. Despite the fact that plainsong could refer to metrical psalm tunes,¹⁷⁰ the editor Pitcairn’s assertion that he meant the metrical psalm tunes is probably incorrect since he mentions having learned “manie of the Psalmes and toones their of in miter” while in Montrose in 1570. Instead, Melville was probably recollecting that he learned the medieval chants and psalm tones.¹⁷¹ His subsequent reference to the “treables of the Psalmes” is also intriguing for the current discussion of performance practice. This could mean that he learned the descants to the chants or psalm tones, or the treble parts to the metrical psalm tunes.¹⁷² Whatever Melville meant by “treables of the Psalmes,” it is clear that his music education included part-singing and playing musical instruments.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Melville, *Autobiography*, 29.

¹⁷⁰ See *STC* 2725, fol. [++ii^v]-iii^r; *STC* 2575, *passim*; Thomas Ravenscroft, “To all that have Skill, or Will vnto Sacred Musicke,” in *STC* 2648. Christopher Barker also said of John Day in December 1582, “In the priuiledge, or private license graunted to Master Daye, are among other thinges *the Psalmes in meeter, with notes to sing them in the Churches aswell in foure partes, as in playne songe...*” *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1875-94), 1:115.

¹⁷¹ Plainsong usually referred to chant, or an unornamented melody that employed free rhythms that mimicked normal speech rhythms. “Plainsong.” *OMO*, ed. Michael Kennedy, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e7977>. And, Munro recently agreed with this definition. Munro, “Sang Schwylls,” 71.

¹⁷² As discussed earlier, Scots probably learned many of the proper psalm tunes printed in the Lekpreuik psalters. See pp. 279-84. The only extant harmonized psalm settings available at the time were those from Thomas Wode’s part-books. Since Wode was working in St Andrews,

The extent to which Melville's experience was characteristic of others in Scotland should be considered more closely. In particular, it is important to examine the extent to which part-singing and musical instruments were used in metrical psalm singing in sacred and secular settings. As with English performance practice, discussion on Scottish performance practice will begin by musical instruments and psalm harmonisations. Then it will study the practices of lining out and *musica ficta* before closing with a brief discussion of dynamics and tempi.

The use of musical instruments has received some recent attention, and one record in particular has received much attention by modern historians and musicians. On 24 December 1583, the Stirling Presbytery banned pipers and fiddlers from wedding processions.¹⁷⁴ Assuming that Calvinists opposed instrumental music, many modern historians have concluded that Scots also hated instrumental music. However, Scottish use of musical instruments does deserve some closer consideration, because the evidence suggests that Scots had a more nuanced view.

The Scottish Kirk strongly discouraged the use of organs and other instruments, but the Chapel Royal was an exception early after the Reformation.¹⁷⁵ The well-known organist and former master of the Edinburgh song school, John Fethy, was the Cantor of the Chapel Royal at least through 1566.¹⁷⁶ Since the Chapel Royal employed a number of musicians under the direction of Fethy to support its continuing Roman Catholic liturgy for Mary, Queen of Scots, the Chapel almost certainly continued to use its organ

where Melville was studying, it is most probable that he learned these psalm settings at some point. See note 167.

¹⁷³ Munro provides some helpful insights into music instruction in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He details this along with some of the methodology used for teaching music in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland. Munro, "Sang Schwylls," 65-83.

¹⁷⁴ *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-1587*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Publications of the Scottish History Society, 1981), 192; Munro, "Scottish Music," 158.

¹⁷⁵ Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 100-1.

¹⁷⁶ Munro, "Scottish Music," 26, 31.

through this period.¹⁷⁷ When the Earl of Mar took control of Stirling Castle in 1567, however, he removed the organ.¹⁷⁸

While most Scots would have sung their psalms *a capella* in worship services, the evidence suggests that they often used musical instruments to accompany psalm singing in secular settings. Since Melville's music education included playing musical instruments, Scots must have continued to use them outside of worship. He is not clear about what music he played on instruments, and specifically if he accompanied psalm singing with musical instruments. However, a high-profile instance of Scots using musical instruments to accompany psalm singing outwith the worship service occurred the evening that Mary, Queen of Scots, arrived in Scotland in 1561. Knox recorded:

Fyres of joy war sett furth all nyght, and a cumpany of the most honest, with instrumentis of musick and with musitians, geve thair salutationis at hir chalmer wyndo. The melody, (as sche alledged,) lyke hir weill; and sche willed the same to be contineued some nightis after.¹⁷⁹

This particular version of the story is generous and sufficiently vague for Knox's readers. However, another account, written by Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme, tells the story slightly differently. Instead of the unpleasant sound of psalm singing around daybreak, Bourdeille insists there were 400-500 people singing psalms and accompanying themselves with out-of-tune violins and rebecs.¹⁸⁰ This suggests the group welcomed the queen with a loud midnight serenade. While violins and rebecs added to the sound that the group produced that night, it seems 400-500 people could have produced the wanted effect without these instruments. Regardless of whether

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 31-4.

¹⁷⁸ Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 100-1.

¹⁷⁹ Knox, *Works*, 2:270.

¹⁸⁰ Brantôme writes, "...qui pis est, le soir, ainsi qu'elle se vouloit coucher, estant logée enbas in l'Abbaye de l'Islebourg, qui est certes un beau bastiment, & ne tient rien du Pays, vindrent sous la fenestre cinq ou six cents marauts de la ville, luy doner aubade de meschants violons & petit rebecs, dont il n'y en a faute en ce Pays là; & se mirent à chanter Pseaumes, tant mal chantez & si mal accordez, que rien plus. He! quelle musique, & quel repos pour sa nuit!" Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme, *Œuvres du seigneur de Brantome*, (Paris: 1823), 2:122-3.

Knox, or Brantôme is the most accurate, it is clear that Knox and his cohort did not have any problems with using musical instruments to accompany their psalm singing.¹⁸¹

Two more important events involving the royal family further suggest that Scots could use musical instruments to accompany the psalms outside worship. The first is James VI's entry into Edinburgh in 1579:

The king made his entrie in Edinburgh at the West Port, upon Fryday the 17th of October. He was receaved by the magistrats of the toun, under a pompous pale of purple velvet...The musicians song the xx. psalme, and others played upon the viols...After the sermon was sung the xx. Psalme.¹⁸²

Psalm 20 was a fitting choice for the king's entry into the city, as it asks the Lord to hear the king's prayer and accept his sacrifice.¹⁸³ Though the metrical version used that day from the Scottish psalter minimises its references to the king, Scots equated the "anointed one" with their king. The second of these important events in which musical instruments accompanied psalm singing occurred after the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594:

Therafter, the bishop stood up, and treatted upon the sacrament of Baptisme, first in our vulgar tongue, nixt in the Latine. Thereafter, the musicians sung the 21st Psalme...The bankett ended, thankes being givin to God, there was sung the 128th Psalme, with diverse voices and toones, and musicall instruments playing.¹⁸⁴

Accompanying a psalm with instruments was acceptable, as there are no known negative reactions to either event. In addition, both accounts distinguish between the music performed during and the music surrounding the worship service. This distinction suggests that while instruments were unacceptable for worship services, they were permissible outside the worship service—even when used to accompany psalms.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ While the Queen did not appreciate the gesture, there was no reaction from the Kirk.

¹⁸² Calderwood, *History*, 3:458-9.

¹⁸³ *STC* 16577a, p. 48.

¹⁸⁴ Calderwood, *History*, 5: 344-5.

¹⁸⁵ This followed Calvin's practice in Geneva. Regarding the use of musical instruments, he wrote, "...for although we are not forbidden to intermix musical instruments privately, yet are

Discussion returns to the prohibitions against using bagpipes and fiddles. In connection with the prohibition from Stirling cited earlier, modern commentators often forget that sixteenth-century weddings occurred on Sundays as part of the worship service, usually just before the sermon.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, the Stirling presbytery's problem with employing instrumentalists probably was a question of proper practice for Sundays rather than any dislike for instrumental music itself. Pipe and fiddle music often encouraged dancing and other celebratory actions, especially within the context of a marriage procession. Later in the minutes, the presbytery insists that the purpose of this restriction was to encourage couples to "...cum to the kirk reverentlie as becumis thame without ony playing..."¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the prohibition against fiddles and bagpipes probably was an attempt to encourage reverent attitudes when going to church, following the exhortation found in the argument to Psalm 24: "...yet onely they do enter aright into this Sanctuarie, which are the true worshippers of God, purged from the sinful fylth of this world."¹⁸⁸

A similar prohibition cited by Gordon Munro in Elgin would seemingly have forbidden the use of bagpipes at any time. He writes, "Another edict of the session (20 December 1599) forbade, amongst other 'prophane pastimes', 'singing of carrellis or uther prophane sangis, guysing, pyping, violing and dancing.'"¹⁸⁹ However the context of the order provides a bit more information regarding the restriction:

Anent the Chanonrie kirk — All prophane pastyme inhibited to be usitt be any persones ather within the burgh or college and speciallie futballing through the toun, snaw balling, singing of carrellis or other prophane sangis, guysing [masquerading], pyping, violing, and dancing and speciallie all thir aboue specifeit foriddin in the Chanonrie kirk or kirk yard thairoff (except futball). All women and lassis forbiddin to haunt or resoirt thair under the

they banished out of churches by manifest decree of the Holy Ghost, when Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 13, permits us not to praise God or to pray but in a known tongue." John Calvin, *A Commentary on the Psalms of David by John Calvin*, [trans. A. Golding] (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1840), 2:253.

¹⁸⁶ *STC* 16577a, p. 93.

¹⁸⁷ *Stirling Records*, 158.

¹⁸⁸ *STC* 16577a, p. 59.

¹⁸⁹ Munro, "Scottish Music," 86.

paynis of publict repentans, at the leist during this tyme quhilk is
superstitiouslie keipitt fra the xxv day of December to the last of Januar nixt
thaireftir, quhilk ordinance the minister sall intimat furth out of the pulpit.¹⁹⁰

The full context of this restriction reveals that the Elgin Kirk Session was trying to restrain people from the public celebrations that surrounded Christmas rather than trying to forbid people from playing bagpipes (and even dancing) at all times.

On the other hand, there is an interesting instance of instrumental music from Dumfries that was recorded in 1575 by the General Assembly. On 7 August, Peter Watson, minister of Dumfries complained that "...on Yule day last...[the town of Dumfries] brought a Reader of their own with a tabor and whistle, and caused him to read the prayers; which exercise they used all the days of Yule."¹⁹¹ As opposed to Elgin, Dumfries apparently encouraged Christmas celebrations, and they hired their own Reader when neither their Pastor nor Reader would oblige them with special services around the holiday. Since this situation occurred only around Christmas, it may be an aberration rather than an indicator of common practice. However, there remains the possibility that some locations allowed some musical instruments during the Reader's service.

Though musical instruments were normally only used outside of public worship in Scottish society after the Reformation, harmonised versions of the metrical psalms was much less restricted. As noted in the earlier quote from Melville's autobiography, he learned the melodies for the psalm tunes while in Montrose and the "treables of the Psalmes" in St Andrews, some of which he "could weill sing in the kirk."¹⁹² Melville would not have sung the harmonies to the psalm tunes in church if the Kirk did not allow them. Gordon Munro adds that song school students routinely assisted the

¹⁹⁰ *The Records of Elgin, 1234-1800*, compiled by William Cramond, ed. Stephen Ree (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1908), 2:76.

¹⁹¹ *APGA*, 1:398.

¹⁹² Melville, *Autobiography*, 22, 29.

congregational singing by singing the psalms in harmony.¹⁹³ In Ayr, for instance, the song-school master was appointed in 1583:

...to teiche the youthe in the art of musik sufficientlie, and to learne yame to sing, als to play upon the pynnatis (spinet) and uther instrumentis according to his knowledge, and to learne the barnis that singis to read and write Inglis, and sall sing in ye Kirk ye for (four) partis of music, beginning ilk Sunday at ye second bell.¹⁹⁴

Indeed, records from Aberdeen,¹⁹⁵ St Andrews,¹⁹⁶ and Glasgow¹⁹⁷ also suggest that students from most song schools helped the song-school master to lead the singing in the local Kirk.

Since song schools helped with congregational singing, the mystery of how 2,000 Scots could sing the 124th Psalm in four parts when Durie returned to Edinburgh in 1582 is much less puzzling. Considering the Edinburgh song school remained open immediately after the Reformation, local churches probably employed its song school students at a fairly early stage. Perhaps the Edinburgh Kirk Session's order for Hendersoun to sing the psalms along with his sons may have initiated this practice in areas such as Ayr, Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Glasgow.¹⁹⁸ With men such as David Peebles and Thomas Wode in St Andrews, Andrew Blackhall in Musselburgh, and John Buchan in Haddington working to harmonise the metrical psalms in such proximity to

¹⁹³ Munro, "Scottish Music," 132, 203, 213, 240. See also Neil Livingston, ed. *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635* (Glasgow: Maclure and MacDonald, 1864), 21-2.

¹⁹⁴ John H. Pagan, *Annals of Ayr: In the Olden Time, 1560-1692* (Ayr: Alex Fergusson, 1897), 75. While the reference to the "second bell" suggests the students sang during the Reader's Service, there seems to be sufficient evidence from other Kirks to suggest that they also assisted in the singing during the proper worship service. For more on the Reader's Service, see McCallum, *Scottish Parish*, 85-93; Todd, *Protestantism*, 68-73.

¹⁹⁵ *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, ed. James Cooper (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), 2:393; *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1570-1625*, ed. John Stuart (Aberdeen: William Bennett, 1848), 157.

¹⁹⁶ *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews*, ed. David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1890), 2:908.

¹⁹⁷ Robert Wodrow, "Mr. David Weems," in *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, volume 2, part 2 (Glasgow: Edward Krull, 1845), 22-3.

¹⁹⁸ Although it is impossible to know for certain, the Edinburgh Kirk's order to John Henderson and his sons may have been the first official order for a song-school master and his pupils to help with the singing in the church. See pp. 279-80.

Edinburgh, it probably had access to harmonised tunes relatively early on. These cumulative situations suggest that people in Edinburgh may have heard harmonised psalm tunes well before Durie's entry. Thus, the procession probably included trained musicians and untrained people singing Psalm 124 in four-part harmony.

There is, however, a record from the Perth Session suggesting that some churches discouraged singing in parts, even when performed by a song-school master and his pupils. In their 29 July 1583 meeting, the Perth session ordered, "...John Swinton (precentor), first, to keep only the tenor in the Psalm..."¹⁹⁹ While this could be viewed as a comment on harmonised psalm singing, Munro argues it could also be a comment on the musical abilities of Swinton, his song school, and their Kirk.²⁰⁰ Regardless of the motive behind the restriction, the Perth record indicates that there were variations in part-singing practice between burghs—even those that had a local song school.²⁰¹

In most of the churches with access to a local song school, members of the congregation aside from the song school students may have been able to learn the parts by rote and to join in singing in four parts. This affected psalm singing outside the church as well, where the evidence suggests that polyphonic psalm settings were more common.²⁰² In areas without a local song school, it is difficult to know whether churches used harmonised psalm tunes. However, Edward Millar noted in his

¹⁹⁹ John Parker Lawson, *The Book of Perth: An Illustration of the Moral and Ecclesiastical State of Scotland Before and After the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1847), 152.

²⁰⁰ Munro, "Scottish Music," 123-4.

²⁰¹ A St Andrews Kirk Session ruling against Thomas Wode could be another example in which a Kirk limited part-singing, but the circumstances surrounding the order along with the ruling itself are unclear. For the actual order, see *Register of St Andrews*, 529. It seems St Andrews may have had a precentor who was in charge of music in the church, indicating Wode's additions may have been purely verbal rather than musical. See *Register of St Andrews*, 488, 604; Melville, *Autobiography*, 127.

²⁰² There are accounts of polyphonic psalm settings for weddings, baptisms, coronations, and other events. For examples, see David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997), 104-5, 114; Charles Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Grampian Club, 1882), lxxxiii, lxxxv.

introduction to the 1635 *Forme of prayers* that “an abuse observed in all Churches, where sundrie Tribles, Basses and Counters set by diverse Authors, being sung upon one, and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub each upon another...”²⁰³ While Millar had probably not travelled to the majority of parish churches to witness singing practice, he was likely aware of accounts of singing even in the more remote areas of Scotland. Versions of psalm-tune harmonies could have travelled with the melodies to these more remote areas, but it is more likely that these areas used simple descants instead.²⁰⁴ Since most Scots lived outside the major burghs, it would be difficult to argue that harmonised psalm singing characterised most of Scottish worship. However, harmonised psalms were common enough that most Scots would have been aware of the practice.

While the song school often provided the churches with precentors, more remote areas relied on a Reader to lead the singing.²⁰⁵ As they began to collect payment for their services towards the end of the sixteenth century, those charged to “take up the psalm” began to appear in burgh and Kirk records.²⁰⁶ The question of the Reader’s or precentor’s precise role in worship remains. There has been some confusion about precentors’ methodology for leading congregational singing. Margo Todd recently wrote,

...one did not need to have the music before one to learn them. From the first generation of the Reformation, with cantors lining out the psalms (singing one line at a time) for repetition by the congregation, this particular section of the scriptures could easily be learned by heart without the need for literacy.²⁰⁷

Though her point focused more on how the non-literate learned the metrical psalms, precentors in Scotland did not commonly line-out the psalms until after the

²⁰³ “To the Gentle Reader,” in *STC* 16599.

²⁰⁴ Temperley argues that descant was probably the most popularly used method of psalm harmonization in England. See *MEPC*, 1:73-5.

²⁰⁵ Todd, *Protestantism*, 71-2.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

Westminster Assembly concluded in 1649 and after the Scottish Kirk officially sanctioned it.²⁰⁸ One reference from Old Aberdeen suggests the precentor did little more than start the psalms. On 16 July 1607 the city records note:

The said day compeiret Wa[lter] Lindsay maister of the sangschoil and comptat and rakint with Sir James Balfour fier of Petcullo Maister David Rait principall of the Kingis college of Auld Abd. and Maister Thomas Gairdyne of Blairtoun anent his steipand promiseist be thame to him for serwing and teiching the sang scoill and begining of the salme in the kirk thir thre yeiris last bypast...²⁰⁹

This was not an isolated example, as one Scot's defence of their psalter against King James' new metrical versifications in 1631 suggests he was accustomed to this practice. He argued, "...so he that taketh vp the psalme is able to sing anie tune, and the people for the most pairt follow him."²¹⁰ The statement that congregants followed their precentor "for the most pairt," suggests that there were times when they did not follow him. Understandably, a congregation might have trouble following when the precentor simply started the tune, but a congregation would have fewer problems following one who lined-out the psalm tune. Thus, precentors in Scotland probably did not line-out the metrical psalms through 1640.

Unlike lining-out, the practice of applying *musica ficta* in Scottish psalm singing is a little less clear, as historical accounts do not provide evidence one way or the other. What evidence exists is limited to printed and manuscript psalm settings, which suggest an inconsistent and varied practice.²¹¹ Since the present study has limited its musical analysis to the printed psalter editions, only the 1635 *Psalmes of David* will be

²⁰⁸ John Lightfoot. *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot, D.D.*, ed. John Rogers Pitman (London: J.F. Dove, 1824), 13:344.

²⁰⁹ *Records of Old Aberdeen MCLVII-MDCCCXCI*, ed. Alexander Macdonald Munro (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1899), 42.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 234. The author of this defence against King James' metrical versifications is contained in a set of manuscripts that were compiled by David Calderwood. David Laing notes that they were originally written in a hand other than Calderwood, so these probably were the views of someone else. See *Bannatyne Miscellany*, 1:231n.

²¹¹ Notably, the Part-books compiled by Thomas Wode also provide evidence regarding the use of *musica ficta*. See note 167.

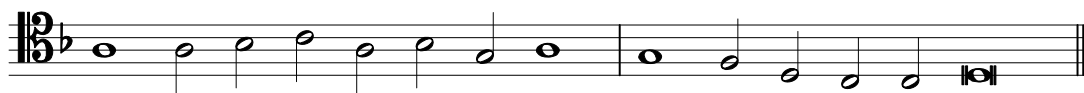
considered presently. While this ordinarily would be a disadvantage, the unique position of the 1635 volume as an anthology of metrical psalmody that included most of the print and manuscript resources makes it an ideal resource for such a discussion. If Scots used *ficta* while singing their metrical psalms, it should be most visible in this edition. An examination of the melodies in that psalter reveals several chromatic alterations leading up to cadences that follow the rules of *ficta*.²¹² It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Scots used *ficta*, especially in areas where song schools provided support for congregational singing.

However, even Millar's 1635 edition of the Scottish metrical psalms applied accidentals inconsistently in situations that would normally warrant *ficta*. One of the more glaring examples occurs in the final line of the tune from Psalm 28 (Figure 6.1). Applying the rules of *musica ficta*, singers would have added sharps to the two minims on c, leading to the *finalis* on d. Though Millar's psalter may have demanded this of its users, such an expectation was uncharacteristic of the edition, since in similar situations when the melody approaches the *finalis* on d or g from below, he did regularly modify the penultimate notes (c# and f#, respectively). When the *finalis* fell on f or c, Millar did not need to modify these penultimate notes (e and b, respectively) chromatically. The tunes from Psalms 28, 82, and 86 are the only tunes printed by Millar that approach their *finalis* with a whole step from below. Since that for Psalm 86 is in mode 3, beginning and ending on e, it does not require *ficta* leading up to its *finalis*.²¹³ However, the other two have their *finalis* on d, which would normally have caused Millar to chromatically modify the penultimate note on c. The unmodified c these instances suggest Scots inconsistently applied *ficta* to their psalm tunes.

²¹² These include, but are not limited to, Psalms 9, 37, 70, 91, 101, 119, 129, and 138.

²¹³ In addition to its modal character, the harmonic progression at the end of the tune from Psalm 86 does not allow for the application of *ficta* for the penultimate note of the tenor due to double leading tones created by the movement from g^{#1} to a² in the cantus and B^b to B in the bassus.

Figure 6.1: Final line of the tune from Psalm 28 in the 1635 *Psalmes of David* [STC 16599]



The evidence seems to suggest that *ficta* was probably inconsistently applied in Scottish psalm singing, generally. Since most parishes in Scotland had access to a Reader or precentor, their understanding of the practice as well as their personal preferences probably dictated if and when congregations used *ficta*. Presumably, the rules for applying *ficta* would have been included in the musical instruction of these individuals, so most would have had at least a rudimentary understanding of its principles. Areas with Readers who did not understand all the rules probably applied *ficta* inconsistently—some using it too often and others using it too little. Other areas with a skilled musician acting as the Reader probably used *ficta* more consistently. It is also possible that some Readers preferred to use *ficta* more often in order to align psalm singing with art music, while others may have disliked the practice and sought to align psalm singing with folk musical practice.²¹⁴

Scottish psalm singing also might have diverged into two practices like that in England, but there is little evidence to suggest that musicians and social elites performed the psalms one way while the rest of the populace performed them in another. A more detailed analysis of the harmonisations in the 1635 Scottish Psalter could provide more insight into the application of *ficta* in Scottish metrical psalms. In addition, thorough study of the extant manuscripts including the Wode psalters, Duncan Burnett's Music Book, Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book, William Stirling's Cantus Part-book, and Lady Anne Ker's Music Book could also prove beneficial.²¹⁵ Such

²¹⁴ As noted earlier, Temperley argued that *ficta* was employed in art music, not folk music. *MEPC*, 1:65.

²¹⁵ For references to the Wode partbooks, see note 167. For the rest, see *GB-En* MS 9447, *GB-En* MS 9450, *GB-En* MS 5448, and *GB-En* Adv. MS 5.2.14, respectively.

an analysis is outside the scope of this study, but the current evidence suggests Scottish use of *musica ficta* for psalm tunes varied and was inconsistent through the mid-seventeenth century.

Finally, there is little evidence or extant instructions about Scottish psalm tunes' dynamics and tempi. Few historical accounts describe the tempi of Scottish metrical psalms, and nothing survives to direct modern performers about dynamics. Considering that psalm-tune tempi over the period from 1560-1640 in England probably slowed some, there was quite likely some slowing of the average tune speed in Scotland as well. Ultimately, however, both dynamics and tempi of psalm tunes in Scotland almost certainly varied across the country. That is, from Aberdeen to Ayr performance practice was unique to each Kirk. Some may have sung their psalms as if they were dirges, and others may have tried to keep their tunes moving. Most likely, the introduction of lining-out after 1640 in Scotland had the greatest impact on the speed of Scottish psalm singing.²¹⁶ Before this innovation, Scottish psalm singing probably preserved moderate tempi and dynamics.

6.7 Conclusions on Performance Practice

This selection of historical accounts from England and Scotland shows how important the psalms were to people in both countries. As well as the differences between their printed metrical psalters, people performed the psalms differently in both countries. One of the most fundamental differences in practice was the official role sung metrical psalms played in the worship services of both countries. Though most English churches used metrical psalms in their liturgies, they were not an official part of the Book of Common Prayer. The Scottish church, on the other hand, ordered that churches use the metrical psalms—and them alone—in their worship services.

²¹⁶ As a precentor in the Reformed Presbyterian Church (RPCNA and RPCS), I have first-hand experience with this phenomenon. There is little reason to expect that congregations were any different in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland.

The English repertoire of psalm tunes was also smaller than that of the Scots, requiring flexibility of text-tune pairings in England that existed on a much smaller scale in Scotland. This would change through the seventeenth century, as both traditions moved towards using the Common Tunes. While the Scottish psalters were fairly fixed through the sixteenth century, the English exercised their influence over the Scots once James VI moved south to become James I of England. The evidence suggests that the English started using Common Tunes around 1579, as shown in William Daman's psalters. Though the Middelburg psalters used some of the tunes from East's psalters, Scots slowly began to incorporate them into their repertoire as well. Probably only after Andro Hart started printing them in 1615 did the Common Tunes become common in Scottish practice.

Following James VI's "act of tymous remeid" in Scotland, singing in the burghs started to include four-part psalm singing in worship services. This was especially evident in Edinburgh, where the four-part singing of the crowd during Durie's entry in Edinburgh occurred just three years after the act. No parallel account exists from England despite the fact that harmonised metrical psalters first appeared in print in 1549. Doubtless, the remaining choirs in England used harmonised psalm settings, but there is no evidence to indicate that any collection of harmonisations received wide acceptance until Ravenscroft's 1621 Psalter. As suggested by the changes to the tunes printed in the Stationers' psalters after 1621, Ravenscroft's harmonised settings became common in England. In one sense, Ravenscroft's success of 1621 was the same as that enjoyed by Thomas Wode's manuscript psalters from 1566. Since Millar included many of the psalm settings found in Wode's psalters for his 1635 *Psalmes of David*, they must have remained in regular use, even 39 years after Peebles and others arranged them.

A visitor would have heard *a capella* psalms sung in four parts in churches in Edinburgh, but the same visitor would have heard monodic psalms sung with organ accompaniment in London's churches. Although English and Scottish psalm singing were related, they differed in practice as well as print. All of these differences in the utilisation of choirs and musical instruments, in addition to the different tunes and texts made metrical psalm singing in England a very different experience from that in Scotland.

CONCLUSION

The original versifications by Sternhold and Hopkins provided the foundation for the psalm practices of both England and Scotland. After the Marian exiles carried these texts to the European mainland, some individuals began to provide new metrical versions and edit the pre-existing ones. The Anglo-Genevan exile community was particularly instrumental in these developments, as they were also the first to print tunes for the Sternhold and Hopkins psalm texts. Emphasising the importance of the texts, the Anglo-Genevan compilers chose tunes that were particularly suited to each text. When, for whatever reason, compilers did not print a tune for a particular text, it has been shown here that they recommended a tune from a psalm text which expressed similar sentiments. These text-tune relationships became engrained in Anglo-Genevan practice due to the position of the psalms in the liturgy and prominence in private devotion. However, these connections would not last.

Perhaps more than any other factor, timing caused the initial differences between the complete metrical psalters printed in England and Scotland. Almost immediately after the exiles' return to England, work began on producing versifications of all 150 psalm texts using the latest Anglo-Genevan edition, the 1558 *Forme of prayers*.¹ Scots had to wait until 1562 before they were ready to begin work on a metrical psalter of their own. By that time, work in Geneva had finished and a number of texts had been added to the 1558 edition, so Scots used the latest Anglo-Genevan edition, the 1561 *Forme of prayers*, as the foundation for their volume. To these foundations, compilers in both countries placed their own unique styles on the final

¹ As Beth Quitslund has shown, Day's 1562 *Whole booke* drew from a variety of Continental sources due to the influence of the English exiles who were living in various cities during the reign of Mary Tudor. However, the foundation for Day's psalm versifications came solely from the 1558 *Forme of prayers*. *RR*, 193-238.

products by including the work of local writers. The completed psalters from Day and Lekpreuik began two psalm traditions that became beloved by many in each country.

In England, metrical psalmody was more flexible in practice than its Anglo-Genevan predecessor. Since the metrical psalms never became an official part of the English liturgy, they remained in the realm of popular music rather than art music. Sung metrical psalms were the peoples' contributions to English worship services and were not an officially recognised part of the liturgy. Thus freed from liturgical constraints, this popular psalmody was closely tied to the ballad tradition in that its text-tune relationships were much freer than those in the Anglo-Genevan practice. Printers often suggested different tunes for psalm texts, and they often removed particular tunes. Regardless of whether people followed the proper tunes and tune suggestions of any particular psalter edition, collectively these editions reveal interesting trends in psalm printing and presumably performance. While people often sang certain texts to the same tune, such as Psalms 1, 30, and 119, they took the liberty of mixing other tunes and texts. There were periods such as the 1570s and 1580s during which printers and singers experimented more with pairing texts with different tunes, but this lessened by the end of the sixteenth century, as people used collections of tunes that worked well for each text.²

At the same time, a new generation that had not known life before the Elizabethan settlement was in authority. Having been raised on this popular psalmody, this new generation began to use a new set of psalm tunes that were more generic than their predecessors, so that people could pair them with practically any text within the metrical psalter. These tunes, also known as the Common Tunes, were slowly

² The idea that a set of tunes may be suitable for a particular psalm text is observable in both the modern-day Free Church of Scotland and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which both recently released psalters that suggest several potential tunes for many of their psalm texts. *Sing Psalms: New Metrical Versions of the Book of Psalms* (Cambridge: Free Church of Scotland, 2003); *The Psalms for Singing: A 21st Century Edition* (Cambridge: Nigel Lynn Publishing, 2004).

incorporated into the Day psalters alongside the remaining proper tunes and tune suggestions. Presumably, some proper tunes and tune suggestions fell out of common practice, as they also fell out of print, but the majority remained through 1640. The seventeenth-century musical repertory within the Stationers' metrical psalters would be best described as a consolidated diversity of tunes.

The psalters printed in and for Scotland were much more static than their English counterparts, retaining and building upon the text-tune relationships of their Anglo-Genevan predecessors. Two factors probably made Scottish metrical psalmody more static. First, the metrical psalms were an official part of the Scottish liturgy. This meant that printed editions were constrained by the practices and some regulatory control of the General Assembly. Second, recently uncovered evidence shows that many parish churches had a Reader by the 1570s who could read the psalter and lead the congregation in singing not only the appropriate text but the proper tune as well. As opposed to the popular psalmody in England, Scottish practice was much more fixed and could best be described as liturgical psalmody.

This pattern was interrupted before the turn of the century by a new generation of printers, who began to bring English influences into Scotland. Editions printed by Henry Charteris in Scotland as well as Schilders and the Canins abroad began to experiment with text-tune pairings, and they began to introduce new tunes that had previously appeared in English psalter editions. While Hart's 1614 and 1615 editions effectively ended this period of instability, there was one significant remnant from this relative upheaval in Scottish metrical psalmody. Around the turn of the century, Scottish printers such as Schilders and Waldegrave began to introduce the Common Tunes, which could be paired with any CM text in the Scottish psalter. Printers continued to add to the number of Common Tunes until 1635, when Hart's *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* included 31 different Common Tunes. Only 12 of these

would be codified in later seventeenth-century Scottish metrical psalm singing as the complete repertory of psalm tunes.³ At the same time, printers looked to English precedents to begin cutting their costs. As these tunes became better known, Scottish printers began to print psalter editions without tunes. This suggests that the repertory of Scottish psalm tunes began to reduce following the popularisation of Common Tunes after 1620. Thus, apart from lingering textual differences between the English and Scottish metrical psalters, Scots ended with a similar popular psalmody in 1640 to that of England, which had long abandoned many of the text-tune relationships of their Anglo-Genevan predecessors.

Metrical psalm singing was a fairly diverse practice in both countries that often relied on circumstances rather than theology. As Willis's study has shown, constraints on finances and personnel had more of an impact on how the psalms were sung in English churches than religious convictions.⁴ In Scotland, Munro has noted that the 1579 Act of "tymous remeid" did much to revive a struggling music culture in Scotland. However, access to a local song school was especially important for more complex psalm singing practice in Scotland.⁵ Within this general diversity of practice in both countries, there were also some differences, and the most significant of these was in the use of musical instruments. While musical instruments were encouraged outside of the worship services in both countries, Scots preferred *a cappella* psalm singing in worship, while the English allowed churches to use the organ to accompany their singing. Choirs also played different roles in the two countries, but they were more likely to dominate

³ Millar Patrick notes that in addition to "Common Tune," "King's Tune," "Duke's Tune," "English Tune," "French," "London (London New)," "Stilt (York)," "Dunfermline," "Dundee," "Abbey," "Martyrs," and "Elgin" that Scots often also used "Bon Accord" which often appeared in reports. Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 111.

⁴ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 83-159.

⁵ Gordon Munro, "'Sang Schwylls' and 'Music Schools': Music Education in Scotland, 1560-1650," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 65-83.

the musical content of English worship services while they served only a supporting role in Scottish worship services. Both countries also invested in harmonised psalm settings, but these mainly provided content for choirs and the upper classes in England, while there are historical accounts that suggest that Scots were more comfortable singing in four parts—especially in areas with a local song school.

The psalters of the two countries also had different areas of influence both outside their respective countries and beyond 1640. The Scottish metrical psalters in the Sternhold and Hopkins tradition culminated with Hart's 1635 *Psalms of David*, and although this was arguably the most diverse musical product in the Sternhold and Hopkins line, it had a limited influence. Once the Scottish General Assembly accepted the new metrical psalter in 1650, the old Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms ceased to be sung in Scotland, along with many of their melodies.⁶ The Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms continued to be printed and used in England long after they were displaced at the end of the seventeenth century by Tate and Brady's metrical psalter.

It is also easy to forget that the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms were popular at a time when English explorers began to expand the nation's influence around the world. The psalms were on the lips of sailors during services onboard and to mark the setting of the watch. In fact, the East India Company bought 50 psalters for each of its ships, which it intended its sailors to use on their perilous journeys and to sing to the natives they encountered.⁷ More than any other edition printed in England or Scotland, however, Ravenscroft's 1621 psalter influenced metrical psalmody outside Britain and especially in America. The 1640 *Whole booke of Psalmes or Bay Psalm Book* printed by Stephen Daye in Cambridge, Massachusetts, directly recognised the

⁶ Patrick, *Scottish Psalmody*, 105-16

⁷ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 435.

prominence of Ravenscroft's tunes. Before 1640, the Ainsworth and Sternhold and Hopkins editions dominated metrical psalmody in the Massachusetts Bay Colony because of the influence of the Puritan colonists.⁸ However, they were unhappy with the music in both psalters. The preface to the *Bay Psalm Book* notes, "As for the obiections taken from the difficulty of Ainsworths tunes, and the corruptions in our common psalme books, wee hope they are answered in theis new edition of psalmes..."⁹ Clearly, people had problems singing the tunes in the Ainsworth editions, and the Sternhold and Hopkins editions (or "common psalme books") had many problems as well.¹⁰ Since the rest of the preface acts as a defence of the new translations in the *Bay Psalm Book*, these "corruptions" probably refer to the translational problems in the Sternhold and Hopkins texts. To replace these difficult tunes, the *Bay Psalm Book* suggests:

The verses of these psalmes may be reduced to six kindes, the first wherof may be sung in very neere fourty common tunes; as they are collected, out of our chief musicians, by Tho. Ravenscroft. The second kinde may be sung in three tunes as Ps. 25, 50, & 67, in our english psalm books. The third may be sung indifferently as Ps. the 51, 100, & ten commandements, in our english psalme books. Which three tunes aforesaid, comprehend almost all this whole book of psalmes, as being tunes most familiar to us. The fourth as Ps. 148 of which there are but about five. The fift as Ps. 112 or the "Pater noster," of which there are but two, viz. 85 & 138. The sixt as Ps. 113, of which but one, viz 115.¹¹

Ravenscroft's psalter provided the musical content for all the CM texts (namely, the Common Tunes), and the Sternhold and Hopkins editions provided the tunes for the rest of the texts set in other metres.¹² The *Bay Psalm Book* was almost immediately

⁸ Irving Lowens, "The Bay Psalm Book in 17th-Century New England," *JAMS* 8, no. 1 (Spring, 1955): 23; Wilberforce Eames, "Introduction," in *The Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: Stephen Daye, 1640; reprint, New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1903), v.

⁹ *The Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: Stephen Daye, 1640; reprint, New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1903), fol. **2^{r-v}.

¹⁰ See Chapters 2 and 4 for details of these problems.

¹¹ "An Admonition to the Reader," in *The Bay Psalm Book*.

¹² These metres were SM, LM, 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4., 8.8.8.8.8.8., and 8.6.8.6.8.6., respectively.

adopted by nearly every congregation in the colony.¹³ Because of this influence in the Americas and the continuing influence in England, Ravenscroft's edition would become the most influential English-language metrical psalter printed in the Sternhold and Hopkins line.

In recent years, there has been renewed interest in English and Scottish liturgical and musical practice after 1560. Historians and musicians have begun to consider the wealth of information buried in churchwardens' accounts, kirk session minutes, and city registers. These studies are particularly helpful in understanding the diversity in practice that each country experienced at the time, but they also tend to neglect the central component of English and Scottish metrical psalmody: the music. The previous discussion has sought to start a dialogue on the music, particularly focusing on its relation to the text. It has also described some of the differences in the ways English and Scottish people sang their psalms. One area that has not received much attention, either in this or previous discussions, has been the harmonised metrical psalters, both in print and manuscript. Recent efforts such as the Wode Psalter project at the University of Edinburgh have begun to make these resources available to scholars over the world. What remains is to begin comparing these psalm harmonisations with others that appeared in England and the Continent. In addition to this musical analysis, there remains much work to be done on the metrical psalm versifications. Though some have begun to consider the sources for English metrical psalm texts, much remains to be done on them along with the Scottish versifications.

The "new song" of England and Scotland in the sixteenth century may actually have been an old one, but reformers successfully used these metrical psalms to bring the Word of God to the literate and non-literate masses of people in a language and

¹³ Salem and Ipswich waited until 1667 to formally accept the *Bay Psalm Book*, and Plymouth Colony adopted it in 1692. Lowens, "Bay Psalm Book": 24; Eames, "Introduction," viii.

format they could understand, learn, memorise, and sing. Since metrical psalm singing became one of the most popular pastimes in English and Scottish society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it deserves continued attention by historians and musicians.¹⁴ While it may be easy to dismiss the metrical psalm tunes based on their simplicity, this quality endeared them to people in Britain after 1560. Young and old, rich and poor, learned and unlearned joined their voices together in unity, using these tunes to express their common pains, struggles, hopes, and beliefs. I hope that this study and those that follow will encourage musicians to bring these psalm texts to life through their tunes in a way that more people may appreciate their unifying simplicity.

¹⁴ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 435-7, 452-3.

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- 2456.4 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meeter, by T. Sternehold I. Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrue, with apte notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1580.
- 2456.6 [The Whole booke of psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, I. Hop., W. Whittingham and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apte notes to sing the[m] withall]. London: Iohn Daye, [1580].
- 2457 [The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into Englishe metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whittingham, I Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall]. London: Iohn Daye, 1581.
- 2458 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1581.
- 2458.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1581.

- 2459 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meeter, by T. Sternehold I. Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrue, with apte notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1581.
- 2459.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English Metre by T. Sternh. I. Hop. W. Whittingham & others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1581.
- 2459.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English Meter by T. Sternh. I. Hopk. W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1581.
- 2461 *The Whole booke of psalmes: Collected into English Metre, by T. Sternh. I. Hopk. W. Whittingham and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apte notes to sing them withall.* London: John Daye, 1582.
- 2463 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Day, 1583.
- 2464 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins & others: conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Day, 1583.
- 2465 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1583.
- 2466 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins & others: conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Day, 1583.
- 2466.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into Englishe Metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whitingham, I. Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1583.
- 2466.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them with all.* London: Iohn Day, 1583.
- 2467 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into Englishe Metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whitingham, I. Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1584.
- 2467.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1584.
- 2468 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Metre by Thom. Stern. Ioh. Hopk. and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Daye, 1584.

- 2468.5 *The Whole booke of psalmes, collected into English metre T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1584.
- 2469 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1585.
- 2470 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withal.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1585.
- 2470a *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1585.
- 2470a.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1585.
- 2470a.6 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by T. Sternholde, I. Hopkins, W. Whitting. & others, conferred with the Hebrue and apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1585.
- 2471 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1586.
- 2472 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1586.
- 2473 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1586.
- 2473a *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English metre by Tho. Stern. Ioh. Hop. and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1586.
- 2474 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1587.
- 2475 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Assignes of Richard Day, 1588.
- 2475.2 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whittingham, I. Hopkins, and others, Conferred with the Hebrewe, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Henrie Denham, 1588.

- 2476 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1589.
- 2476.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Wolfe, 1590.
- 2477.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* Lonodn: John Wolfe, 1591.
- 2478 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1591.
- 2479 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1591.
- 2479.5 *The VWhole booke of Psalmes collected into English meetre by T. ternhold, W. Whitingham, I. Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1591.
- 2480 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them with all.* London: Iohn Windet, 1592.
- 2481 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1592.
- 2481.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by T. Sternh. I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withal.* London: John Windet, 1592.
- 2482 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: With their wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts.* London: Thomas Est, 1592.
- 2486 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1594.
- 2487 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1594.
- 2487.3 *The vwhole booke of Psalmes: collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, W. Whitingham, I. Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1594.
- 2488 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: With ther wonted Tunes as they are sung in Churches, composed into foure parts.* London: Thomas Est, 1594.

- 2489 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1595.
- 2490 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1595.
- 2490.2 *The VWhole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternh. Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1595.
- 2490.4 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1595.
- 2490.6 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1596.
- 2490.8 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1596.
- 2491 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1597.
- 2492 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1597.
- 2493 *The VWhole booke of Psalmes collected into Englishmeetre by T. Sternhold, W. Wittingham, I. Hopkins, and others, Conferred with the Hebrue with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn windet, 1598.
- 2494 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1598.
- 2497 *The Psalmes of David in Meter, The plaine Song being the common tunne to be sung and plaide vpon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, seuerally or altogether, the singing part to be either Tenor or Treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voice, or for fovre voyces.* London: William Barley, 1599.
- 2497.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1599.
- 2497.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1599.

- 2498 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold Ioh. Hopkins, and others.* London: Iohn Windet, 1599.
- 2499.4 *The booke of psalmes: collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* [Amsterdam]: [J.F. Stram], [1633].
- 2499.6 *The Booke of Psalmes: collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them with all.* [Amsterdam]: [J.F. Stam], [1639].
- 2499.7 *The Booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas STernehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them with all.* [Holland]: [s.n.], [ca. 1617].
- 2499.9 *The Psalmes of David in meeter, with the prose.* Middelburgh: Richard Schilders, 1599.
- 2500 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1600.
- 2500.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1600.
- 2500.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold; Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1600.
- 2501 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins and others.* London: Iohn Windet, 1600.
- 2502 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1601.
- 2503 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1601.
- 2506 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1602.
- 2506.5 *The VWhole booke of Psalmes collected into Englishmeetre by T. Sternhold, W. Whittingham, I. Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrue with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1602.
- 2507 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1602.

- 2507.5 *The Psalmes of David in Metre, With Divers Notes, and Tunes augmented to them.* Middelburgh: Richard Schilders, 1602.
- 2508 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1603.
- 2509 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred With the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: John Windet, 1603.
- 2510 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by T. Sternh. I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withal.* London: John Windet, 1603.
- 2511 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalms, both in prose and Meeter, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: P[eter] S[hort], 1603.
- 2512a *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London, Company of Stationers, 1604.
- 2513 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Iohn Windet, 1604.
- 2515 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: With their wonted Tunes as they are sung in Churches, composed into foure parts.* London: Thomas Este, 1604.
- 2516 *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue with apt Notes to sing them with all.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1605.
- 2517 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1605.
- 2518 *The Psalmes of David in Meetre, With diuers Notes and Tunes augmented to them: Also with the prose on the margin.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1605.
- 2519 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1606.
- 2520 *The Whole booke of psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1606.
- 2521 *The Whole booke of Psalms collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1606.

- 2521.3 *The Whol Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1606.
- 2522.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2522.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter by Tho. Sternh. Ioh. Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1609.
- 2523 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2523.3 *The VWhole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to singthem withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2523.5 *The VWhole booke of Psalmes collected into English meetre by T. Sternehold, W. Whittingham, I. Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrue, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2524 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1607.
- 2524.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thom. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham and others, conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2524.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meetre by T. ternhold, I. Hopkins. W. Whittingham and others. Conferred with the Hebrew with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1607.
- 2526 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter byThomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1608.
- 2526.3 *The Booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrewe, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1608.
- 2526.6 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1608.
- 2527 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold I. Hopkins, W. Whitingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to singe them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1608.

- 2527.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others.* London: G[] M[], 1638.
- 2528.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them with all.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1609.
- 2529 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stacioners, 1609.
- 2529.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meter, by Tho. Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1609.
- 2530 *The Whole booke of Psalms collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1609.
- 2530.3 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1609.
- 2530.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk., and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* [London]: Company of Stationers, 1609.
- 2531 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1609.
- 2533 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter, by Thoas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1610.
- 2533.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1610.
- 2535 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* [London]: Company of Stationers, 1610.
- 2535.3 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes, Both in Prose and Meetre: With apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1610.
- 2536 [The Whole booke of psalmes collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins, and others]. [London]: [Company of Stationers], [1610].
- 2537 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1611.

- 2537.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1605.
- 2538 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1611.
- 2538.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: With their wonted Tunes, as they are sung in Churches, composed into foure Parts.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1611.
- 2539 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1612.
- 2540 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1612.
- 2540.5 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1612.
- 2541 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1612.
- 2541.5 *The VWhole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Tho. Sternh. Ioh. Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1612.
- 2542 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1612.
- 2544 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes. Both in Prose and Meetre: With apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1612.
- 2544.2 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1612.
- 2544.5 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1613.
- 2545 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1613.

- 2546 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, with the Prose on the margin, Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1613.
- 2547 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1614.
- 2548 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1614.
- 2549 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meetre by T. Sternehold, W. Whittingham, I. Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1614.
- 2549.3 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1614.
- 2549.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1614.
- 2550 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Tomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London, Company of Stationers, 1615.
- 2551 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1615.
- 2551.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1615.
- 2551.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1615.
- 2552 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1615.
- 2552.3 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of stationers, 1615.
- 2554 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes, Both in Prose and Meetre: With apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1615.

- 2555 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas STernehold, Ion Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1616.
- 2555.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1616.
- 2555.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1616.
- 2556 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas sTernhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1616.
- 2557 *The Booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meetre, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1617.
- 2557.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companyof Stationers, 1617.
- 2557.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1617.
- 2558 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1617.
- 2560 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them with all.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1618.
- 2560a *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1618.
- 2560a.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and other. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1618.
- 2560a.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1618.
- 2560.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhld, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1618.

- 2563 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected, into English Meeter. By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1619.
- 2564 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1619.
- 2564.2 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1619.
- 2564.6 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1619.
- 2564.8 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notest to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1619.
- 2565 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers 1619.
- 2566 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. HOpk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1619.
- 2570.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1620.
- 2571 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1620.
- 2571.3 *The Whole Boke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk., and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1620.
- 2572 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1621.
- 2572.3 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1621.
- 2573.5 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes, Both in Prose and Meetre: VWith apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1621.
- 2574.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the*

- Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1621.
- 2574.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sign them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1629.
- 2575 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: With the Hymnes Evangelicall, And Songs Spritvall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1621.
- 2575a *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1622.
- 2576 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1622.
- 2576.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1622.
- 2578 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1622.
- 2580 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1623.
- 2581 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1623.
- 2582 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1623.
- 2585 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1624.
- 2585.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1624.
- 2587 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk., and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1624.
- 2587.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1624.

- 2589 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1625.
- 2590 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferrd with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1625.
- 2590.5 *Th VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1625.
- 2591 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopk. and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1625.
- 2592 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1625.
- 2593 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes. Both in Prose and Meetre. With apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1625.
- 2594 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1626.
- 2597 *The Whole booke of Psalmes; Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1626.
- 2598 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1626.
- 2599 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1627.
- 2599.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1627.
- 2600 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1627.
- 2603 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins, and others.* London: Company of Stationers, 1627.

- 2604 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1628.
- 2604.5 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1628.
- 2605 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1628.
- 2607 *The Whole booke of DAvids Psalmes, Both in Prose and Meetre. With apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1628.
- 2608 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Printers to the Vniversitie, 1628.
- 2610.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, William Whittingham, and others; conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Printers to the Vniversity, 1628.
- 2612 *The VWhole Booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1629.
- 2612.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1629.
- 2614 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1629.
- 2615 *The Whole booke of Psealmes, with the Prose on the Margin. Collected into English Meeter by Th. Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins.* London: Company of Stationers, 1629.
- 2615.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withal.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1629.
- 2617.7 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas and John Buck, 1629.
- 2618 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1630.

- 2619 *The Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1630.
- 2620 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1630.
- 2620.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1630.
- 2621 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1630.
- 2624 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas and John Buck, 1630.
- 2624.5 *The VWhole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas and John Buck, 1630.
- 2625 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into Englis meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1631.
- 2626 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1631.
- 2627 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1631.
- 2633 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: R. Badger, 1631.
- 2634 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1632.
- 2635 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sign them withall.* London: T.P., 1632.
- 2637 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1632.

- 2637.8 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others; conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1632.
- 2639 *TheWhole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Ioh Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1633.
- 2640 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] L[egat], 1633.
- 2641 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, By Tomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt notes to sign them withall.* London: T[homas] P[urfoot], 1633.
- 2641.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1633.
- 2642 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sign them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1633.
- 2644 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, with the Proofe on the Margin. Collected into English Meeter, by Th. Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins.* London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1633.
- 2645.7 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1633.
- 2647 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge, Printers to the Universitie, 1633.
- 2648 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: with the hymnes euangelicall, and songs spirituall.* London: Thomas Harper, 1633.
- 2649 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, withapt Notes to sing them withall.* London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1634.
- 2650 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1634.
- 2650.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1634.

- 2652 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others; conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1634.
- 2653.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Ioh. Hopkins, and others.* London: Company of Stationers, 1634.
- 2654 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Printers to the Universitie, 1634.
- 2655 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Companie of Stationers, 1635.
- 2656 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: A. G[riffin], 1635.
- 2656.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected into English meeter, By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sign them withall.* London: T[homas] P[urfoot], 1635.
- 2657 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1635.
- 2661 *The Whole booke of Davids Psalmes, Both in Prose and Meeter. With apt notes to sing them withall.* London: T[homas] C[otes], 1635.
- 2661.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Th. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others; conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1635.
- 2662.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: E[lizabeth] P[urslowe], 1636.
- 2663 *The Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] L[egat], 1636.
- 2664 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, By Tho. Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins and others. Conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1636.
- 2665 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1636.

- 2665.5 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1636.
- 2666.2 *The Whole Book of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: R.Y., 1636.
- 2666.5 [The Whole booke of Psalmes]. London: Company of Stationers, 1636.
- 2667 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected Into English Meter by Tho. Sternhold, Jo. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1636.
- 2670 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1637.
- 2670.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1637.
- 2672 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1637.
- 2674 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1637.
- 2675 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Printers to the Universitie, 1637.
- 2676 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to Sing them withall.* London: E. Griffin and I. Raworth, 1638.
- 2677 *The Whole Book of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] H[aviland], 1638
- 2678 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1638.
- 2678.4 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1638.

- 2679 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: Company of Stationers, 1638.
- 2681.3 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected Into English Meter by Tho. Sternhold, Jo. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: E.G., 1638.
- 2682 *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Collected into English metre, by Th. Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1638.
- 2683 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1638.
- 2685 *The Whole booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, John Hopkins, apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: E.G., 1639.
- 2686.2 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1639.
- 2686.3 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1639.
- 2686.4 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1639.
- 2686.6 *The VWhole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1639.
- 2686.8 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] H[aviland], 1639.
- 2692 *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Collected into English metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1639.
- 2693 *The Whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meeter by Tomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew; with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: E.G., 1640.

- 2694 *The Whole Book of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter By Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others. Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: I. Okes, 1640.
- 2695 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: Conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: R. Bishop, 1640.
- 2696 *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: G. M[iller], 1640.
- 2696.5 *The Whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meetre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Hebrew, with apt notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] L[egat], 1640.
- 2698 *The Whole Boke of Psalmes: Collected Into English Meter Tho. Sternhold, Jo. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] L[egat], 1640.
- 2699 *The Whole booke of Psalmes: Collected Into English Meter by Tho. Sternhold, Jo. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall.* London: I[ohn] L[egat], 1640.
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